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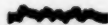
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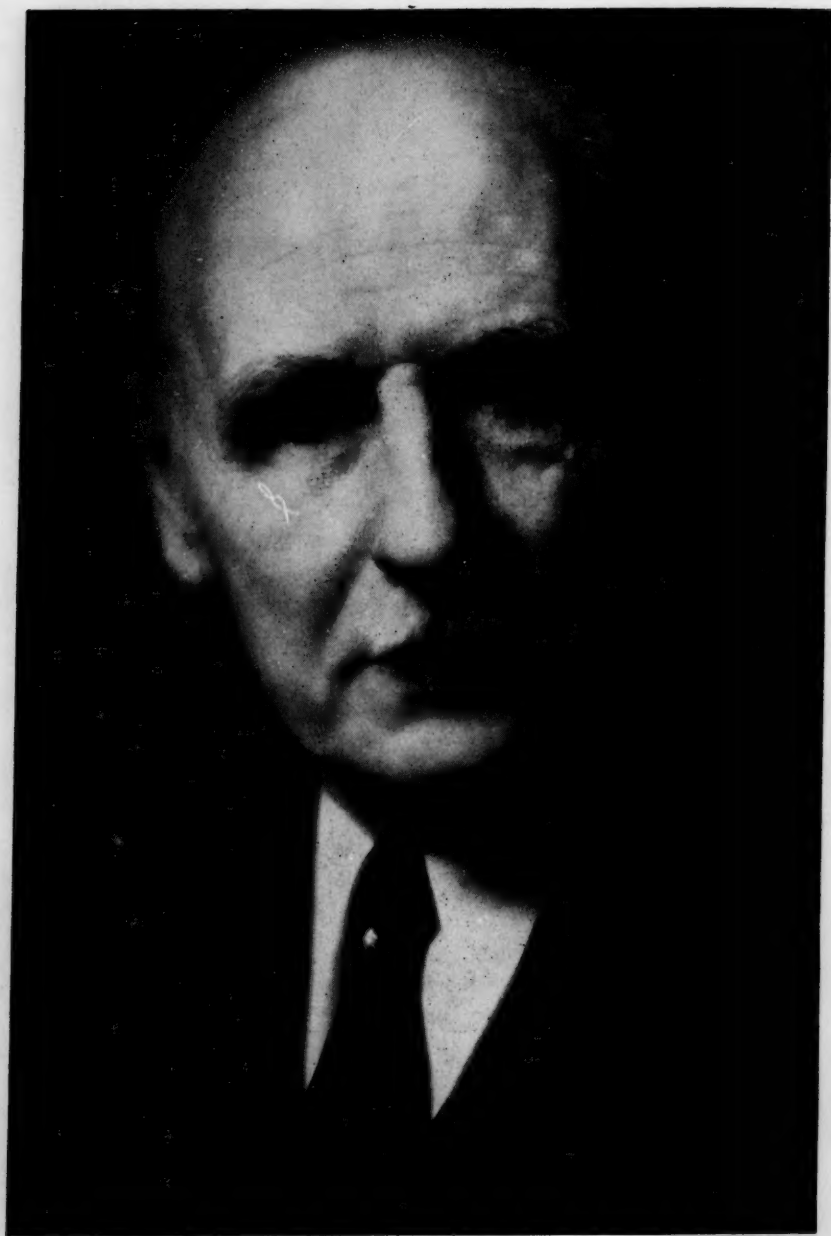
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Alexander Rudolf Hohlfeld



## IN MEMORIAM — ALEXANDER RUDOLF HOHLFELD\*

1865 — 1956

*Emeritus Professor Alexander Rudolf Hohlfeld died on April 18, 1956, at the age of ninety. With his death the University has lost a scholar closely associated with its growth for more than half its one hundred and eight years. Of the University's physical structure only a scant half dozen buildings antedate Professor Hohlfeld's coming to the campus at the turn of the century. Of the University's spiritual substance there is no ready measure at the time of his leaving. Nor is there any way in which the dimensions of Professor Hohlfeld's great contribution to this substance can be properly appraised. His life and career is that of an inspiring teacher, a painstaking scholar, and an urbane gentleman.*

Born in Dresden, December 29, 1865, he received his doctorate at Leipzig in 1888. Before coming to Wisconsin Professor Hohlfeld was on the faculty of Vanderbilt University as Professor of Germanic Languages and Dean of the Academic Department. He joined the faculty at Wisconsin in 1901 and was appointed chairman of the Department of German in 1904. In this capacity he served until his retirement in 1936.

Professor Hohlfeld's arrival on this campus coincided with the plan for organizing the Graduate School. At its founding in 1904, through its formative years, its youth and coming of age, his counsel helped in shaping its progress to the position of eminence it now occupies. He was uniquely fitted for this by his broad cultural grasp and catholicity of interests. Intent upon linking this university more closely with that larger whole of which it is a part, he was directly instrumental in establishing here the Carl Schurz Professorship, which through the years brought to the campus illustrious visiting scholars. In his chosen field of German Language, Literature, and Culture he built well and solidly, so that the Graduate program of his creation has achieved an international reputation of a high order.

Through Professor Hohlfeld Wisconsin has given of its wealth to many institutions. There are many teachers of German throughout our country who have received their training at Wisconsin either as graduate students or as juniors on the department's staff under Hohlfeld's supervision. For this country, the University has become a focal point and central exchange for serious study in German.

Through serene and troubled times, through wars and the ill-will engendered by them, no less than eighty-five doctors of philosophy were schooled in the exacting and stimulating seminars of the Department under Hohlfeld's guidance.

With a firm faith in the enriching and liberating force of great literature, Professor Hohlfeld was able to imbue his lectures on both the undergraduate and graduate level with the infectious ardor and winning persuasiveness of his own devotion. There are hundreds of citizens of the state and nation who can look back upon their classroom experience under Hohlfeld as having opened new vistas which infused them with an idealism that makes for freedom.

\* Memorial Resolutions of the Faculty of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Hohlfeld's field of special competence was Goethe's poetry and philosophy. To the deeper penetration and wider understanding of Goethe's *Faust* he dedicated himself to the very last days of his years, in study, in essays, in lectures, and addresses. When in 1953 the University of Wisconsin Press published a volume of Hohlfeld's studies entitled *Fifty Years with Goethe*, there were those, including no doubt the author himself, who regarded this collection as his final bequest. It can now be recorded that within the last year, his ninetieth, Hohlfeld has enriched the field of Goethe scholarship by no less than three essays in distinguished American and European periodicals.

To know of Hohlfeld's physical handicaps of the last years — his loss of sight and impairment of hearing — is to have some understanding of a devotion, a dedication, and a fortitude of spirit that surmounted all physical obstacles. His attentive companionship of the spirit with the great poet and philosopher Goethe shaped Hohlfeld's own life to the very end.

The honors conferred upon Hohlfeld through the years were many. The most intangible honor bestowed upon him is that "Hohlfeld of Wisconsin" became a synonym for authority in matters pertaining to the study of German. Professor Hohlfeld was a Past President of the Modern Language Association, Past President of the American Association of Teachers of German, a member of the Goethe Gesellschaft in Weimar and the Goethe Verein of Vienna, an honorary senator of the Deutsche Akademie in Munich. In 1937 the degree of Litt.D. was conferred upon him by Middlebury College. In 1938 a special number of the *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht* was dedicated to him. In 1951 the City of Frankfurt, Goethe's birthplace, honored Hohlfeld with its Goethe Medal and a handwritten scroll for his contribution to the advancement of Goethe scholarship. As recently as December, 1955, on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, the German Federal Republic conferred upon Hohlfeld the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit, the highest recognition that nation can bestow. At the presentation the German Vice Consul von Prich said: "The President is quite familiar with your great contribution to German-American understanding."

Each honor conferred upon Professor Hohlfeld was received by him in its turn with embarrassed diffidence, since there was no place for personal glory in his self-effacing dedication to literature. In literature and the humanities he saw a great force in furtherance of humanity, of citizenship in the world, and of international understanding. To this cause he effectively devoted his life.

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### IMITATIO GOETHE: THOMAS MANN AND HIS FRENCH CONFRERES

FRITZ KAUFMANN  
*University of Buffalo*

#### 1. The Idea of Imitatio

To be and not to be, to have his life merely and truly in the medium of its *representation* is, in the eyes of Thomas Mann, the lot of the artist, his curse and his blessing. The feeling of the curse prevails in his youth. Normal existence means here, above all, co-existence. The pseudo-existence, the bizarre ex-sistence of the artist is not only that of a *déclassé* in modern society, an outcast in this technical age; it has deeper roots in his nature—in his addiction to dream and play, but also in the channeling of his responses into the receptacle of a work which absorbs the energies usually spent in the intercourse of common life.

But this is not the whole truth. To be and to represent are not exclusive alternatives. Nor is the climax of representation—the free and creative one—the death-knell of proper life. Vitality does not necessarily decrease in direct proportion to the increase of spirituality (as—following Schopenhauer—*Buddenbrooks* and *Tonio Kröger* suggest). Both vitality and spirituality stand sponsor to the work of the artist. Moreover, as a writer, the artist does not “cease to be a man” (although this suspicion creeps in again and again from *Tonio Kröger* to *Joseph in Egypt*). Life is not only “transfigured” into its eternal image and thus, after all, cheated out of itself; it is also recreated in a work of art. And the artist is no mere artificer who analyses something in which he no longer has any stake. He represents life because he is life’s representative, its trustee, and may be even a martyr to its truth. Conceived in solitude, the work grows from common ground, is received in common life and adds to the intensity of its communion.

Creative solitude is not human loneliness. And in Thomas Mann’s case, artistic representation helped even to overcome the loneliness of a melancholy youth and the sufferings, contracted under the principle of individuation, of his soul, the soul of a standoffish patrician and North

German Protestant. In the author Thomas Mann artistic communication, frank to the point of exhibitionism, but under the disguise of irony and a narrative in the third person, makes up for the incommunicativeness of the human person, for his shying away from the intimacy of I-Thou relationships.

Up to a certain point Thomas Mann's outlook is very much like that of a Leibnizian monad — both self-contained and all-comprehensive in the representation of the Universe from an individual point of view. *Esse est repraesentare* — this applies to each and every being in proportion to its inner significance. With Thomas Mann's growing recognition of the universality of this truth, representation ceases to seem the opposite of being and the exclusive fate of the artist.

Still, the case of the writer and the artist stands out for two reasons: first of all, thanks to the perfect form which this representation attains in the idiomatic mood and style of his work; secondly, because his power to communicate depends on a vision and expression which are original and authentic without being private. They are representative in the sense that they are the individual embodiment of a community and tradition of life, a succinct synthesis of its tenets and tensions — in a language whose wisdom is entrusted to the poet as the standard-bearer and augments of its empire. Tradition has its mightiest, though not its only vehicle in language, and no other language has the inner might of the artist's.

It is at this point that universal representation in Leibniz's sense must be complemented by the idea of *mythical representation*, somewhat akin to that mystic participation of which Levy-Bruhl speaks. The isolating walls between individual and individual break down in the unity of a tradition which allows, for instance, the voice of Luther to sound through that of Goethe, Goethe's as well as Luther's through that of Nietzsche, and all three through Thomas Mann's own voice. This eternal presence of the past in "typical form perpetually renewed" is the mythical element of genuine tradition: it transposes history into myth. "Myth is tradition, and to live in tradition means to live in the myth."<sup>1</sup> We have here the metahistorical counterpart of that elemental identification which makes Nietzsche feel that "never sated like the flame . . . truly I *am* flame, I know" ("Ecce Homo").

This mythical identity can be endorsed and enacted. It thus becomes an inner reality in a life that understands itself as *imitatio*. To use a most sublime example — the *imitatio Christi* is not only an emulation of Christ, a following in his ways on the part of other people. It is a life as a member of the *corpus Christi* in that mystic communion and, in a sense, consubstantiality in which his life is perpetuated on earth. In Thomas Mann's eyes, *imitatio* is the acceptance and re-creation of a role

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Mann, *The Theme of the Joseph Novels* (Washington, 1942), 22.



which is assigned to the individual and in whose both faithful and imaginative performance this individual is raised to the rank of a person, a *persona dramatis*.

Thomas Mann found and described the process of self-identification in historical figures such as Cleopatra, Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon, who enter in this way the festive realm of myth and mythopoesis;<sup>2</sup> and he lends awareness of the roles they have to play to the figures of *Joseph and His Brothers* in their repetition of the past and prefigurement of the future.

## 2. Imitatio Goethe

Just as different people can play the same role, the same individual may play different roles in different phases of his life. Thomas Mann's own intellectual life began under the sign of Schiller, to whom he dedicated his last words, words of grateful "recognition." There is an *imitatio Schopenhauer* in *Buddenbrooks*, whereas the *imitatio Nietzsche* is both conjured up and abjured in *Doctor Faustus*. In the zenith of Mann's later life stands — not always unclouded (Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* is only in a very precarious sense of Goethean descent), yet never eclipsed — the sun of Goethe. But it took a long time from the dark of "A Weary Hour," the "very personal" Schiller story of 1906, unto that matutinal hour in whose golden glow the Goethe of *The Beloved Returns* awakens to the twofold blessing of his life — a long time till Thomas Mann could speak of his own life as a "play that has to be seen in the light of Goethe and represents, in its personal cast, a contribution to Goethe's immortality."<sup>3</sup>

As a mythical hero in the world of the spirit, Goethe lives on in his kin. They need not be of his stature if they are only of his blood, embodiments of the same spirit. In this sense Thomas Mann understood to be literally true of the person (and not a mere metaphor) what, in his praise of Goethe, Carlyle had said of the impetus that was to radiate from his existence. Carlyle counted Goethe among those men "whose impulse had not completed its development after fifteen hundred years, and might perhaps be seen still individually subsistent after two thousand."<sup>4</sup>

Hence Thomas Mann could speak of the lineage in which Goethe lives on, and in which — humbly and proudly — he placed himself, of "the metamorphoses of Goethe's heritage, the peculiar refractions of this light in the medium of different personalities such as Stifter, (Grillparzer), Hofmannsthal, Gottfried Keller (transposition into Alemmanic), Barrès, Gide, and so on" — a comprehensive theme he wanted to be treated by some essayist of Post-War Germany.<sup>5</sup> The present essay

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Freud and the Future," in *Essays of Three Decades*, 423 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to the author, February 3, 1943.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle, "Death of Goethe" (Centennial Memorial Edition), XVII, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of February 3, 1943.

tries to handle the very much more modest task of a comparison between Thomas Mann's attitude toward Goethe and that of the two Frenchmen he mentioned in response to my Thomas Mann studies in the early forties.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. "Repetitions" of Goethe's Life

Thomas Mann's following of Goethe is a task both imposed and adopted. So is that of Barrès and Gide. In their representation of Goethe they are exponents and representatives of their generation, the first generation after Nietzsche. Seeing man (at least in one or the other period of their lives) in the image of Goethe, they saw Goethe above all through the eyes of Nietzsche—even though there are also other features that enter into the picture: on the one hand for instance Thomas Mann's early admiration for Heine's prose and the latter's critique of Goethe from the point of view of the *Junge Deutschland*, his chiding of Goethe for the serene and sovereign way he disposed of men and things as mere materials for the artist; on the other hand the French reaction against the frozen grandeur of Gautier's Goethe as the Olympian patron of "l'art pour l'art." As to Gide, he may be said to have viewed Goethe not only through Nietzsche's eyes, but even as Nietzsche *en puissance*: in *Faust* he recognizes (obviously) the Superman; in *Gods, Heroes, and Wieland* (cf. also Goethe's "Deutscher Parnaß") a prelude to the *Birth of Tragedy*; in the Prometheus drama a heralding of *Zarathustra*.

Nietzsche's spirit is evident particularly in the mythical aura around the Goethe of Thomas Mann's generation. It is Nietzsche who, even in freakish parodies such as that on the *Chorus mysticus* in *Faust*, inaugurated in his own way the triumphal procession of Goethe's eternal recurrence. It is Nietzsche who sees him as a higher being—beyond Good and Evil; and who makes, above all, the *old* Goethe both the object of a myth and a mythopoeist, the re-creator of archetypes, "ideal masks," rather than the chronicler of his time and the analyst of individual men in their local attire.<sup>7</sup>

Recurrence as re-petition, mythical re-presentation in Nietzsche's sense, makes Mann as well as Barrès and Gide identify aspects and moments of their own lives with phases and features of Goethe's existence, mold their own conduct after his, travel in his steps, and understand their works as replicas, variations, travesties of Goethean forms and themes. As a living motif, Goethe takes on new shapes in such creative reproduction. "A great, which is to say a 'representative' (*bedeutender*) man is inevitably our own creation," says Ernst Bertram, a writer of

<sup>6</sup> Regarding this part of our subject, cf. Flora Emma Ross, *Goethe in Modern France*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XXI, 1937, nos. 3-4. As to Thomas Mann's relation to Goethe, Bernhard Blume's *Thomas Mann and Goethe* (1949) may be mentioned as a particularly careful study.

<sup>7</sup> Nietzsche, *Human, All-Too-Human* I, no. 221.

the George circle, who for some time was very dear to Thomas Mann's heart and very close to his mind (*Nietzsche*, 1919, 5).

Visiting the Goethe house in Frankfurt's *Hirschgraben*, Thomas Mann felt strangely "at home" — this looked like the model of the house in the Mengstrasse at Lübeck. "These stairs, these rooms," so he says in the beginning of "Goethe as Representative of the Bourgeois Age," "were familiar to me of yore: the same style, the same mood, the same atmosphere. It was the 'origin' just as it should be — the same origin I find in the book of my life — and at the same time; it was here that the prodigy entered this world." Objective similarities and correspondences of the two lives are made into identical traits: the *freie Reichsstadt*, the free imperial city as their birthplace, the patrician family into which they were born, the variant gifts inherited from father and mother respectively, the resulting task of a synthesis between racially and intellectually different constituents (comparable with the problems that arose from the disparity of Northern and Southern, Catholic and Huguenot traditions in Gide's case),<sup>8</sup> the sad fate of the sisters, the triumphant rise of the Prussian Kingdom in their childhood, the crisis of the old dynasties in the forties of Thomas Mann's as well as Goethe's life, the horror of the "unpolitical man" in view of a political age — a passionate reaction whose typical character Thomas Mann confessed he did not immediately realize.<sup>9</sup> Goethe's early fame was won by the death-drunken story of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, that of Thomas Mann by the story of the decay of a family, the Buddenbrooks. For both men holds true what Carlyle says of Goethe, that he was "filled full with the scepticism, bitterness, hollowness and thousandfold contradictions" of his time; "but he subdued all this, rose victorious over this, and manifoldly by word and act showed others that came after, how to do the like" (*op. cit.*, 11).

There is no end to these parallelisms which are felt as substantial identities in the recasting of the same part on a new stage. Some are immediately noticed, others discovered in retrospect, or, it seems, somewhat artificially arranged. But where are the limits between *data* and *facta* in a higher life, life conducted in a proper, personally adopted style? "Strange it is to observe how the phenomenon of *imitatio* presents a mixture in which a course is both given and taken so that it becomes well-nigh impossible to tell which of the two is actually responsible for the imitation and provides for the repetition of previous life — the person or Fate" (*Joseph and his Brothers*, 551). In Thomas Mann's metaphysics of the Will the two are "at bottom" one: "The giver of all given is the soul" (*Essays of Three Decades*, 421).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Mann emphasizes (*The Beloved Returns*, 329) the Roman element in Goethe's ancestry and appearance; his own mother was of German and Portuguese-Creole descent. For Gide, cf. e.g. *Si le grain ne meurt*, 22.

<sup>9</sup> "Goethe as Representative of the Bourgeois Age," *Essays of Three Decades*, 80.



Different as their individual physiognomies are, the intellectual contemporaneousness of Mann, Barrès, and Gide marks all three lives as repetitions of Goethe's life—at least in parts. In André Gide's case, Thomas Mann himself was struck by this elective affinity which goes beyond the factual consanguinity of Protean temperaments. Reading in *Si le grain ne meurt* Gide's report of his painful disgust, after the liberating experience of his Algerian trip, with the staleness of busy bourgeois life at home, Thomas Mann is reminded of Goethe's similar mood after his return from Italy to Weimar. This mood seems to him so "faithfully reproduced" by Gide that one cannot help speaking of "a literary-historical imitation in the sense of 'discipleship'" on Gide's part.<sup>10</sup>

Gide does not fail to acknowledge this indebtedness in a most generous way: "If I was glad to have Goethe instruct me, it was because he informed me about myself. And if I may play on this word: when I speak of grateful recognition (*reconnaissance*), it is because in him all the time I recognized myself (*je me reconnaissais*)."<sup>11</sup>

It is similar with Maurice Barrès, that other representative of the Post-Nietzschean generation. Technically the beautiful composition of *Tod in Venedig* and the loose rhapsody of *La Mort de Venise* have little in common: they share, however, the awareness of a common danger. Like Thomas Mann, Barrès tried (in his French way) to emerge from the vertigo of decadence and the night of lust and pain to the order of the day in the light of Goethe.

It is Goethe under whose sign they hoped and set out to conquer. Gide once declared he could not possibly rest satisfied with Whitman, Nietzsche, and Dostoevski as the founding fathers of today's intellectual world, but needed Goethe in this whole business of life.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, in *L'Appel au Soldat* Barrès pointed out how time and again he set himself in Goethe's footsteps. He followed Goethe even literally in the course of his travels.<sup>13</sup> This fact has been underlined also by Fernand Baldensperger; in his essay "L'Appel Goethéen chez Maurice Barrès"<sup>14</sup> he treats in detail the various Goethean precedents (*précédents Goethéens*) in Barrès' life as well as Barrès' deliberate emulation of Goethe, his life, and wisdom.

#### 4. "Repetitions" of Goethe's Works

Parallelisms, emulation, and a dose of parody are also unmistakably involved and indistinguishably mixed in the "repetitions" of Goethe's

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Mann, "Si le grain ne meurt," *Literatur*, XXXII (1929), 132. Now in *Altes und Neues*, 525 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Gide, "Goethe," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 373.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Thomas Mann, *Altes und Neues*, 522. Similarly André Suarès: "There is no salvation for Europe except in his [Goethe's] spirit." Suarès, "Goethe, l'Universel," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 388.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. especially the *Voyage de Sparte* (Librairie Plon), 144-158.

<sup>14</sup> *Revue de la Littérature Comparée*, V (1925), 103-138.

works by the two Frenchmen and, above all, Thomas Mann. Repeatedly comparisons have been drawn between *Werther* and Gide's *André Walter*, between *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and *Si le Grain ne meurt* (which appeared in German under the Goethean title of *Stirb und werde*), between *La Porte étroite* and *Wahlverwandtschaften* on the one hand, the *Geschichte einer schönen Seele* on the other, between *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* and *Wilhelm Meister*, *Les Nourritures Terrestres* and the *West-Eastern Divan* — not to speak of Gide's Goethe translations, which "repeat" Goethe in French, that means: which claim him for the French language.

Similarly the mood of the Helena scenes in *Faust* can be found pervading the latter part of Barrès' *Voyage de Sparte*. Barrès himself heard echoes of *Hermann and Dorothea* in *Colette Baudouche*. And *Un Jardin sur l'Oronte* seems a "repetition" of the *Divan*, its serenity and its transfiguration of the sensuous in the sphere of the spirit.

Yet all these reminiscences fade in the light of the both joyful and dreadful re-enactment of Goethe's works in those of Thomas Mann. To be sure, the similarity between *Werther* and *Buddenbrooks* is less personal than biological; it is due to the general state of juvenile melancholy they have in common. But the Goethe motto of Thomas Buddenbrook's life — "everything transitory is but a likeness" — was destined to have its positive counterpart in the exalted symbolism of the Joseph legend with its perpetual renewal of archetypal figures and scenes. Assuredly there was a singular attraction for Thomas Mann in following out the urge already felt by the young Goethe — to make up, in an elaborate way, for the only defect of the truly charming Biblical story of Joseph, for its brevity.<sup>15</sup> The genesis of Thomas Mann's life work, moving back as it does from the dark of nineteenth-century naturalism into the morning light of the Orient, follows the way Goethe went from *Werther* to *West-Eastern Divan* and verifies Carlyle's prognosis, in the essay on Goethe's "Helena," of the development of *Faust*, which, "commencing among the realities of everyday existence, passing into a more and more aerial character as it proceeds, may fade away at its termination into a phantasmagoric region where symbol and thing signified are no longer clearly distinguished."

The way to these luminous heights leads over *The Magic Mountain* — a mountain which, like the German Brocken, is, at the same time, an Inferno; its carnival is commented upon by quotations from Goethe's Walpurgis Night. But the allusions to *Faust* are outweighed by those to *Wilhelm Meister*. *The Magic Mountain* is an educational novel in the succession of Goethe; and its modest hero, Hans Castorp, resembles Wilhelm Meister as Schiller saw him: "a mirror of the universe, faithful, yet by no means merely passive. He gathers, as it were, the spirit,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *The Theme of the Joseph Novels*, 5 ff., 16, 22.

the meaning, the inner content of whatever goes on roundabout him, transmutes every dark, inarticulate feeling into a concept of thought, gives each single item a universal form—and thus realizing his own nature, he subserves the purpose of the whole." "His value lies in his own nature and not in any outer efficiency, in his aspirations and not in his accomplishments" (letter to Goethe, July 5, 1796).

To summarize in Thomas Mann's own words: "the *imitatio Goethe* with its recollections of the *Werther* phase and that of *Wilhelm Meister* as well as of the mellow last period of *Faust* and the *Divan* may even today reach out of the unconscious to lay hold of a writer and set his life in a mythical pattern; I say 'reach out of the unconscious' even though in a poet the unconscious passes all the time over into a smiling, childlike, and profound recognition" (*Essays of Three Decades*, 426).

But this Goethe repetition is not unqualified. It is coupled with the awareness of the distance and even the abyss which separates Goethe's world from ours. Repetition thus turns into travesty. In Thomas Mann's literary career the education of Hans Castorp was preluded by the first fragment of *Felix Krull*, Krull's—but not only *his*—autobiography: each work of Thomas Mann has the character of a confession. An insidious denouncement of art and the artist and of the artifices of our time, these *Confessions* portray in seeming honesty a thoroughly dishonest life. They thus intend "to parody the German novel of human growth and education, the great German autobiography, by remaking it into the memoirs of a confidence man" (*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 73)—a story of abysmal sadness under the mask of cynical gaiety; the story of an uprooted pseudo-existence and a world that is a cheat, and where cheating is in order. Cheating becomes the perverse aim of a "soldier-like" self-discipline; and self-realization goes off in heeding an unholy vocation.

The meter and mood of *Hermann and Dorothea* re-occur in the *Song of Childie* (1919)—the imitation of that epic poem of almost Homeric naïveté; and for this very reason, as an imitation, the "song" is not truly naïve, but—far more than Goethe's—borne by a longing for a peaceful idyll. It is an idyll precariously wrested from the collapse of Thomas Mann's world in and after the first World War (cf. *Rede und Antwort*, 357 ff.), without Hermann's confidence that "we shall keep and endure."

The most exasperated, no longer ironical persiflage of a Goethean motif, however, was kept for *Doctor Faustus*, this un-Goethean outcry of a tortured soul in the hour of utter despair at the cross of mankind. The lower world from which Goethe's royal hetaera ascends for a solemn wedding with the Nordic man has become a brothel in Leipzig, and Helena herself a whore (Leverkühn's thinly veiled *hetaera esmeralda*) who infects him with a deadly venereal disease—the price he has to pay

for his art. Another price is the death of little Nepomuk, Leverkühn's nephew, but actually *the* child on earth, in whose angelic appearance Mignon and Euphorion motifs are interwoven with traits of Shakespeare's Ariel. Unlike Faust's son, he dies as a victim of art's black magic. But was not "magician" the nickname of Thomas Mann in his own family? Nepomuk bears, too, the features of Thomas Mann's most beloved grandson. In a profoundly moving and uncannily frightening gesture, he is made a sacrificial offering like Isaac: *Doctor Faustus* is ultimately Thomas Mann's own atonement and his way toward Mount Moriah.

### 5. Goethe as Representative of Mankind

The abyss between Goethe's world and ours is marked by the rise of Nihilism in the nineteenth century. The three writers with whom we deal have sensed the lure of nothingness and tried to save themselves and their time from succumbing to its voluptuous spell. "*Nous nous abstenons en connaissance de cause*," "We keep away because we know it," proclaimed Barrès (*Les Amitiés Françaises* [Felix Juven] 257). But neither Gide nor Thomas Mann have followed him in this abjuring of the dark, chthonic, acosmic powers. In *Death in Venice* Gustav von Aschenbach falls prey to these powers just because he excommunicated them in his moral — or, rather, immoral — pride and resoluteness. Chaos is not merely the delirium of lust, it is the depth of suffering out of which a new cosmos will be born. Both Gide and Mann were willing to follow Nietzsche's example and "descend into the pit" (to use a phrase of the Joseph stories) as the cradle of a new life. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life (his personal life) will lose it, but whoever is willing to lay it down, shall save it (or, to render the Greek text more exactly: he will make it truly alive)," declares Gide in fusing different passages from the Gospel.<sup>16</sup>

Il faut, pour qu'un printemps renaisse  
Que le grain consente à mourir  
Sous terre, afin qu'il reparaïsse  
En moisson d'or pour l'avenir.

These are the concluding words of Gide's *Perséphone*, which celebrates "the love-drunken heart that bends over the abyss of the doleful inferno."

Chaos and cosmos — they belong together. Art — even Apollonian art — is the "victory over an abysmal depth in the intuition of the world and over a most delicate susceptibility to sufferings."<sup>17</sup> This Nietzsche dictum is almost literally taken over by Gide: "the classical work of art proclaims the triumph of order and measure over romanticism in the inner self. The fairer the work, the greater the tumult it serves to put down" (*Morceaux choisis* [Gallimard], 452 f., cf. 99). And quite similarly Schiller in Mann's "A Weary Hour": "To raise from chaos into the

<sup>16</sup> Gide, *Prétextes*, 21. Cf. John xii. 24 f.; Matthew x. 39; Luke xvii. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, section 3.



light of the day whatever is fit and ripe to take form" (*Stories of Three Decades*, 296), this is the artist's task — and, indeed, the task of man.

Now, such words as these have their origin in Goethe and the tradition which he embodies. They translate into the terms of a philosophy of culture the metaphysical anthropology of his storm and stress. We know of the dreadful and fruitful dwelling of two souls in Faust, just as there is in Goethe's own soul "a purgatory, a mingling and interplay of heavenly and infernal powers."<sup>18</sup> This feeling is echoed in Nietzsche's parable of the tree: "the more it moves upward into the height and light, the more intensely strive its roots earthward, downward into the dark, the deep — into evil" (*Zarathustra*).

Thus Goethe's view makes its way into the ethics and theology of Thomas Mann. It pervades not only *Lotte in Weimar*. It can be noticed also in the conspiracy of God and Shemmael which is so much deplored by the pure spirits of the "Upper Circles" in *Joseph and His Brothers*. And it finds a heart-rending expression in the substantial identity of the children's song with the hellish laughter in "Doctor Faust's Lamentations."

It is the same with Gide. Together with influences from Baudelaire and Dostoevski, Goethe's concept of the demonic serves explicitly to confirm Gide's philosophy of life and art. Hence his suspicion and the desperate cry of his La Perouse that "the good Lord and the Devil are but one; they conspire" (*Les Faux-Monnayeurs* [Gallimard], 498). And it thus becomes also the very requisite and warrant of a work's concrete truth to "have the Devil in the game" (*Journal des Faux-Monnayeurs* [Gallimard], 140).

The concreteness of this truth is the concreteness of human life. The contrast within human life and, indeed, "the contrast of all contrasts," according to Gide as well as Thomas Mann, is that of spirit and nature. In Gide, the Puritan, above all, they assume the roles of God and the Devil in man. But it is also his homosexual nature which made the sensuous at first a devilish, a positively criminal yet indispensable element which he could not but acknowledge and even cherish. Thus Prometheus (in *Le Prométhée mal enchaîné*) loves his guilt and loves the eagle that eats away his vitals. In *Corydon*, Gide quotes from Goethe's conversations with Chancellor von Müller (April 1, 1830), words of human understanding for "the homosexual eros, which is as old as humanity; and one may therefore say that it is part and parcel of nature, although it is contrary to nature." *Nemo contra Deum nisi Deus ipse*.

Nowhere does Gide speak of Goethe more feelingly than when he tells what he learned from the opening scene of Faust II, in which the spirits of nature return the sinner to the "holy light" of a new life:

<sup>18</sup> Goethe, letter to Lavater, May 7, 1781, one of many confessions in the same vein.

"until then I had received God through my soul only; suddenly I understood that he can also speak to me through the senses."<sup>19</sup> It is a most happy eye-opening, similar to that which the Schopenhauer disciple Mann experienced when he first discovered the meaning of the epithet *lebenswürdig* which Goethe had bestowed upon Schiller.<sup>20</sup>

To integrate the sensory and even the "evil drive" into a whole and wholesome life, a "great harmony," became to Gide the very meaning and sovereign goal of his life (*Si le grain ne meurt*, 287). It must be admitted that in his case this harmony remained in a state of loose coordination wherein both parties—sense and spirit, Eros and Agape, Lucifer and the Seraph—had their own ways in a "free for all" drive. Thomas Mann, on the other hand, worked for and experienced in his work, a "penetration of both principles, the hallowing of the one through the other" ("Schopenhauer," *Essays of Three Decades*, 406). In his thought their union figured as the idea and ideal of the "third kingdom," the longing of man and the ultimate hope of God. It thus gained a universal scope as the symbol of the integration of mankind and not only of the individual man—or, rather, of the individual person as the representative of mankind. "Be at one with yourself, and you will be at one with others" (Goethe).

The twofold and worldly blessing which is that of Thomas Mann's Goethe as well as his Joseph—"this blessing from heaven above and the earth beneath"—is not that of the pure spirit. Rather it is the immanent perfection of man in his dual nature, as the son of two worlds (*Joseph and His Brothers*, 1155, 1194). It is in this sense that Gide concludes an essay on Goethe on a note of gratitude for what he gave us: "the fairest example, both smiling and grave, of what, without the support of Grace, man can obtain by himself."<sup>21</sup>

It does not detract from the miracle of Goethe's life, it rather makes for a deeper, more compassionate love that even here the calmness "over all the peaks" is a precarious calmness after the storm. Barrès, Gide and Mann saw in Goethe's work not a self-contained form but an ethical expression, a part of life in its struggle for self-realization—in contrast with the ivory-tower attitude of a Gautier and the absorption by art in the hatred of life in Flaubert. Insisting on an intimate union of life and art, Barrès admired in Goethe's poetry—just as Gide did—life in action and ascent: "we profit from the example of his life even more than from his work."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Gide, "Goethe," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 371.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Mann, *Adel des Geistes*, 131 (*Essays of Three Decades*, 83). Reference is made to Goethe's "Epilog zu Schillers Glocke."

<sup>21</sup> Gide, "Introduction au théâtre de Goethe," *Interviews Imaginaires* (Pantheon Books), 165.

<sup>22</sup> Barrès, *Le Voyage de Sparte*, 152 f. Cf. *Mes Cahiers* (Librairie Plon), II, 33 f.; *Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort* (Emile-Paul), 145; Gide, "Goethe," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 370.

Goethe himself took his life as an example, says André Gide. "He feels himself and wants himself to be representative" (*Interviews Imaginaires*, 133). Representative of what? Of humanity. "To man's anxious question: 'What power is there in man?' nobody has given a better answer than Goethe did," ("Goethe," *op. cit.*, 377). He considered his life a symbol, i.e. in his words: a representation of the universal by the individual and the particular. "Nothing particular happens to him without being immediately generalized . . . Is there any more moral 'representative of mankind' than Goethe? . . . He stands out amongst all others as the one who fulfills his mission" (*Interviews Imaginaires*, 138).

"To be representative, to represent by one's being, as a person enacting his role" — these phrases were big with meaning to both Gide and Thomas Mann. In this way, our discourse returns to its starting point: representation as the secret of being.

In the decay of order, the loss of orientation which characterizes the *fin de siècle*, the responsible thinkers and writers were intent to hear and heed their calling, to find *la bonne formule*, the watchword, the banner under which they could gather and find themselves. Dostoevski's complaint that of all animals only man does not know his formula even though he is always in search of it<sup>23</sup> — this complaint is taken up like a challenge in Barrès' declaration: "through all my experiences I am in search of my formula" (*Le Jardin de Bérénice* [Emile-Paul], 112). Its call is for "assuming as much of humankind as possible" (*Ibid.*, 87).

To be sure, his "sublime egoism," both personal and national, made it much more difficult for him to "emigrate into humanity" than for Mann and Gide, who respected the national without idolizing it. To them the national was the soil from which, like the Goethe of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, they grew into the realm of an international community. This cosmopolitan attitude shows not only and not so much in their political affiliations; it has its genuine expression in the language they spoke — their contribution to "World Literature," to use the Goethean term. Its symbolic representation can be found above all in the symphonic blending of languages in Thomas Mann's later novels.

Substantially, Gide's formula — adopted early — is identical with that of Barrès. "We all have to represent." Gide conceived of this representation in the same sense as Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Mann did — as the playing of an exemplary part. "Every being," he was convinced, "or at any rate every chosen being has a role to play on this earth which is precisely his own role and no one else's" (*Si le grain ne meurt*, 275). No wonder this motto looms up right in the middle of Thomas Mann's review of Gide's book. Interpreted with due emphasis on the typical character of such a role, it might well serve to epitomize

<sup>23</sup> The passage is quoted from Dostoevski's notes on his Pushkin lecture in 1880 by Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 552.



Thomas Mann's own philosophy. And "even today," he declares, "it would be quite possible for Gide's 'formula' to take hold of a young life and captivate it by all the charm of a new discovery" (*Altes und Neues*, 524).

But Thomas Mann would not have protested against the emphasis which, owing to his own constitution, Gide laid on the particular in its coincidence with the universal, i.e. in its power of symbolic representation. Gide has insisted that even so "bizarre a case" as that presented in the *Immoralist* may "yield very compelling ideas of universal scope" (*L'Immoraliste* [*Mercur de France*], 9). Thomas Mann's own conviction (and he practiced it from his earliest novels to his last) speaks through the words of his Goethe: "it is, perhaps, the pathological that teaches us most of the norm." "*Die Krankheit erst bewähret den Gesunden*" (*The Beloved Returns*, 334; Goethe, "*Das Tagebuch*"). In 1932, three years after his first Gide review, he testified in his speech on "Goethe's Career as a Man of Letters" to the fact that the poet's individual self with "all its charms and limitations," with all its perplexity, enters into the process of symbolic transformation, that his "standing unwillingly and unwittingly for the many" does not mean the conformity of his nature and his lot with the average. This gift and this role may well be a grace bestowed upon the poor, sick, and suffering, not at all normal and normative individual (*Leiden und Größe der Meister = Essays of Three Decades*, 49 ff.).

To a certain extent this applies even to the darlings of the gods such as Goethe himself, according to his own avowal:

Alles geben die Götter, die unendlichen,  
Ihren Lieblingen ganz,  
Alle Freuden, die unendlichen,  
Alle Schmerzen, die unendlichen, ganz. (Cf. also *ibid.*, 84 ff.)

This is "the suffering and greatness of the masters." The seemingly particular and even private assumes an "unforeseeable significance" with them. The most universal truth lies at the bottom of the most individual experience. And each poet is like Wilhelm Meister at the end of his apprenticeship, a Saul who "went out to seek his father's she-asses and found a kingdom."

#### 6. Goethe as Educator

The example he set makes Goethe in Thomas Mann's eyes both the "representative of the bourgeois age" ("bourgeois" as a historical category has no derogatory meaning with the socialist Thomas Mann) and the *praeceptor Germaniae*. Thomas Mann as well as Barrès and Gide emphasize the educational nature of Goethe's mission. They themselves stress their discipleship to the master and their will to instruct, to inform: "the work in which life has taken shape shall in turn give form

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gide, Preface to *André Walter* (*Les Oeuvres Représentatives*), 9.

to the lives of the readers. And Thomas Mann, at least, enjoyed — from the decade of the *Magic Mountain* — the undreamed of and somewhat dubious recognition as a representative and teacher of his people, the quasi-natural reward of a mature will to exemplary representation. For to set an example means to present a teaching. "The great and moving experience of education grows unconsciously out of the autobiographical urge to self-realization and self-confession, and the pedagogical idea belongs already in the realm of the social" (*Bemühungen = Order of the Day*, 25). Mann experienced the *imitatio Goethe* also in the amazement that one who had been only concerned with cultivating his own ground, saving and justifying his own life, was suddenly promoted to one able to "teach, improve and convert men" (to speak with Goethe himself). The poet cannot help doing just this; he does it by virtue of the unifying and civilizing power of language, in a creativity of the formative mind which "in its worth, beauty, and splendor far surpasses all that is merely individual and of the senses" (*Essays of Three Decades*, 160).

And what does he teach by his example? He teaches what he is and gives: universal representation, a totality of being in which the whole of the world is presented by a total reaction of man, and the whole man by a total manifestation of his endowment — nature inspired by the spirit, the spirit animated and empowered by (sexual) nature — just as it is in Goethe: "life is love and the life of life is the spirit."<sup>25</sup>

To stand for the whole is to mediate between the parts. This is the positive meaning of irony, this dwelling on the point of creative indifference, from which the differences spring and obtain their partial rights. The way of the poet leads back from a totalitarian spirit as well as a totalitarian life, from Schopenhauer's asceticism as well as Nietzsche's insane cult of sane vitality — it leads back to "a far happier and healthier model, the figure of Goethe, with that marvelous combination of the demonic and the urbane which make him the darling of mankind."<sup>26</sup> Stylistically this combination of Eros and Logos has its expression in a unison of audacity and high convention of speech, another thing which Thomas Mann inherited from Goethe (*The Beloved Returns*, 328) and ascribed to Gide ("André Gide," *Altes und Neues*, 594). In the middle register" of Goethe's diction, in the "discrete daring" of his prose, the word is never "swollen, highflown, solemn, priestly, or bombastic — and no one trained in Goethe's school and sharing his taste can actually read, much less appreciate any such language" (*Leiden und Größe der Meister = Essays of Three Decades*, 77).

"Goethe is the great mediator," proclaimed André Suarès.<sup>27</sup> He thus is the very genius of that medium of the gentle hills in which

<sup>25</sup> Cf. "Schopenhauer," *Essays of Three Decades*, 406.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Mann, "The Coming Humanism," in *Patterns for Living*, ed. O. J. Campbell et al., 1196.

<sup>27</sup> André Suarès, "Goethe, l'Universel," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 388.

poetry is at home and to which Thomas Mann gave the name "hermetic," after Hermes, the cunning and smiling mediator between the upper and the lower worlds, but also between the highlands of the spirit and the flatland of workaday life. "Both in art and life, he preferred to the superhuman steep of the sublime the middle heights where the wheat grows and the vine, that which has to nurture man and that which can inebriate him."<sup>28</sup>

In a world of extremes, a world torn and blinded by passions—a tearing that went through their own hearts—the way to Goethe proved the good way to Thomas Mann and the French writers of his generation. In the *imitatio Goethe* they conjured up that mild power which, we pray, may still win over the earth. \*

<sup>28</sup> Gide, "Goethe," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XXXVIII, 372; cf. 376.

\* A book on Thomas Mann by Professor Kaufmann will be published shortly by the Beacon Press, Boston. —*Editor's note.*



### MARIANNE WILLEMERS SOFA

Ich erinnere mich noch, wie wir Ihnen 1938 die Keller des Goethemuseums zeigten, die für den Luftschutz hergerichtet worden waren. Es standen da auch eine Anzahl Kisten, in denen wohl Manuskripte geborgen waren. Ihre kleine Tochter fragte: „What's that?“ Ich sagte: „Our coffins.“ — Es ist dann aber doch gnädig abgegangen. Es hatten sich in der Brandnacht vom 22. März 1944 fünfundsechzig Menschen in diesen Keller geflüchtet. Das Dach des Hauses stürzte ein, glühende Brocken Trümmer verschlossen die Türe, die auf die Straße führte. Aber ich hatte vorher einen unterirdischen Gang in das Goethehaus hinüberbauen lassen, durch den sich alle retteten, eine Frau ausgenommen, die zu korpulent war, um sich durch den Notausgang hindurchzuzwängen. Sie blieb auf einem Sofa der Marianne Willemer sitzen.

— Aus einem Briefe Ernst Beutlers

## THE CROWN IN THE NIBELUNGENLIED

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Among the many unsolved problems which continue to exercise the mind of the student of the *Nibelungenlied*, the one receiving directly and indirectly the greatest attention today is that of the position taken by the *Nibelungenlied* in relation to the other poetical works of the period in which it was given its final form. In the twentieth century such eminent scholars as Heusler, Schneider, and Ehrismann have adhered to the clear distinction made in the nineteenth century between the courtly epic and the popular or heroic epic, though they do not deny that the *Nibelungenlied* contains elements which might well be described as courtly. Such elements have been made the subject of several special studies, the most comprehensive of which is a dissertation by Nelly Dürrenmatt inspired by de Boor and published in 1945.<sup>1</sup> After giving a brief account of earlier research on various aspects of the same problem, the author devotes the greater part of her own study to a comparison of typical forms and ceremonies of courtly life as depicted in the *Nibelungenlied* with those described by the courtly epic poets. In the second and shorter part of her book Nelly Dürrenmatt compares some of the characters, notably the women, of the *Nibelungenlied* with their counterparts in courtly literature and examines their actions and motives in the light of courtly ethics.

Although de Boor can see little true resemblance between the women of the *Nibelungenlied* and those of Arthurian romance, he has, in *Die höfische Literatur*, 1953, the second volume of the *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* by de Boor and Newald, substantially accepted Nelly Dürrenmatt's findings and concludes with her that the *Nibelungenlied* is a courtly novel because courtly bearing and the outward characteristics of courtly life predominate throughout the poem (p. 159). De Boor asserts, moreover, that in spite of the differences between the *Nibelungenlied* and the works of Hartmann, Gottfried, and Wolfram, it is the task of literary history to see in the *Nibelungenlied* the "ritterlich-höfischen Roman eines ritterlichen Dichters." In his review of *Die höfische Literatur*,<sup>2</sup> Bert Nagel, himself the author of an extensive study of the *Nibelungenlied*, approves in principle de Boor's classification of the *Nibelungenlied* as a courtly epic, since he considers the intention of the poet to be the ultimate criterion for the classification of a work, and he is convinced that the poet's conscious desire to create a courtly poem is beyond doubt. Bodo Mergell, one of a number of scholars who

<sup>1</sup> Nelly Dürrenmatt, *Das Nibelungenlied im Kreis der höfischen Dichtung*, Bern, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Bert Nagel, review of *Die höfische Literatur* by Helmut de Boor, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 74, p. 329.



in recent years have sought on the ethical plane the link connecting the *Nibelungenlied* with the courtly epics, questions Nelly Dürrenmatt's approach to courtly literature on the grounds that the portrayal of courtly forms of life is not in itself a measure of their ethical content and has only ornamental significance.<sup>3</sup> It might be objected even more pertinently that one can scarcely classify the *Nibelungenlied* as a courtly novel on the basis of its many court scenes without risking some confusion of terms. Is a medieval poem depicting the actions of royal personages at court necessarily written in accordance with the literary conventions of courtly society? Even if it could be proved that the author of the *Nibelungenlied* was a nobleman or a distinguished cleric, this alone would not be sufficient evidence of his intention to write a courtly novel. Otto Höfler<sup>4</sup> has in fact presented very convincing arguments in favor of the view that the anonymity of the *Nibelungenlied* is intentional and in itself places the poem in a different category from the epics of the courtly poets where the author accepts credit for his work.

In comparing court festivities in the *Nibelungenlied* with similar festivities described by the courtly poets, Nelly Dürrenmatt observes that in the *Nibelungenlied* scarcely anything is said about what she terms "gesellige Vergnügungen," and that festivities in the *Nibelungenlied* always have an official stamp (p. 129; p. 178); de Boor too misses on festive occasions in the *Nibelungenlied* the carefree joyousness which invariably characterizes the finale of Arthurian romances (p. 161). Both Nelly Dürrenmatt and de Boor, however, are too preoccupied with the significance of similarities to wish to draw conclusions from admitted differences. A closer examination of the description of certain details in court ceremonial might prove that they have in reality little to do with what is termed courtly in literature. Such an examination can most profitably proceed not from scenes, incidents, or episodes, where there is constant temptation to generalize, but from the actual words used by the poet. In rejecting Nelly Dürrenmatt's method, Mergell (p. 307 ff.) sets out in his own study to investigate a few individual basic concepts — he begins, for example, with the word *versuochen* — in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of individual characters or episodes, but his treatment of these concepts is far from complete. Meanwhile Maurer in his work entitled *Leid* has shown how much can be learned by the exhaustive study of one single word in a medieval poem and inversely how the imperfect understanding of a word can lead to entirely erroneous interpretations of motivation and of the poet's underlying intentions.

The present paper is an attempt to show in detail how the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* has used the word *krône*, in the hope of gaining new insight into the meaning of court ceremonial in the *Nibelungenlied*.

<sup>3</sup> Bodo Mergell, "Nibelungenlied und höfischer Roman," *Euphorion*, 50, p. 307 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Otto Höfler, "Die Anonymität des Nibelungenliedes," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 1955, 2.

Unlike *leid*, the word *krône* is easily defined: it designates what Webster calls a royal or imperial headdress or cap of sovereignty. Next to the throne the crown in medieval Europe was the outward and visible sign of sovereign power; it marked the ruler and manifested to the people his authority. By the tenth century in Germany the expression *corona regni* had actually become synonymous with *solium regni*, and as early as the sixth century *regnum* is known to have been used as a synonym for *corona*.<sup>5</sup> The coronation of Charlemagne by the Pope in 800 was no mere ceremony, but was a highly significant political act which was destined to have far-reaching consequences. After Charlemagne, the coronation of a king by the right bishop was capable of assuring him of a material body of support, while conversely the unwillingness of a bishop to crown a claimant to the throne might well undermine his claim to the advantage of that of his rival. In an age when the cry, "The king is dead, long live the king," was meaningless, the years of a reign were counted from the date of the coronation, and not until the thirteenth century did it become customary to count the date of the accession to the throne.<sup>6</sup> Because of the struggle for power between church and state which characterized so much of the Middle Ages a king could not always accept the sanction and support of the church implied in his coronation without risking the loss of approval elsewhere. Thus Henry the Fowler's refusal to be crowned in order not to be beholden to the church illustrates in reverse the political importance of the coronation in medieval Germany.

The first occasion on which a crown is worn in the *Nibelungenlied* is the coronation of Prünhilt as queen of the Burgundians. The ceremony observed both for the marriage of Gunther and Prünhilt and for the coronation of Prünhilt begins with a banquet held on the day of Prünhilt's arrival in Worms. At this banquet Prünhilt is seen standing at the king's side, wearing the crown in the presence of his guests (604, 2-4).<sup>7</sup> The normal course of the royal wedding celebration is now interrupted: first by the marriage of Sîvrit and Kriemhilt, and then by the unusual events of the following night. In spite of the fact that his humiliating experiences of the night have put the king in no mood for wearing the crown the next morning (643, 3-4), the public cer-

<sup>5</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom 3. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1954 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften* XIII), p. 386.

<sup>6</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des Salischen Hauses (1028)," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, XXIV, p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> All references to the *Nibelungenlied* are from *Das Nibelungenlied*, ed. Karl Bartsch, 3rd edition, Leipzig, 1872; *krône* occurs 43,2; 109,1; 215,2; 604,3; 643,4; 645,2,4; 684,3; 695,2; 708,4; 713,3; 714,1; 715,2; 812,3; 829,3; 1075,3; 1086,2; 1149,2; 1170,4; 1199,3; 1212,2; 1217,3; 1235,2; 1237,2; 1374,4; 1675,2; 1678,4; 1770,4; *gekroenet* 704,2; 706,3.



emonies required by custom continue without delay. Gunther and Prünhilt go to the minster for the celebration of mass and are joined there by Sîvrit (644, 1-4). The scene in the minster is then described in the following strophe:

Nâch küeneclîchen êren	was in dar bereit
swaz si haben solden,	ir krône unt ouch ir kleit.
dô wurden si gewîhet.	dô daz was getân,
dô sach man s'alle viere	under krône vroelîchen stân.

While this brief account omits all detail pertaining to the exact order of the coronation within the cathedral, certain facts stand out clearly: all four participants in the ceremony are invested with royal robes which have previously been placed in readiness for them; to the accompaniment of appropriate prayers the two queens are crowned, presumably after having been anointed; crowns are placed on the heads of the two kings; and finally all four are seen standing with crowns on their heads. The next strophe opens with the report that many youths now receive their swords, and there follows a display of warlike exercises during which Gunther seizes the opportunity to appeal secretly to Sîvrit for help in his domestic troubles. No sooner are the private negotiations between Gunther and Sîvrit concluded than the public games are also brought to an end as chamberlains clear the path along which the queens are to proceed to the coronation banquet. Horses and men are ordered out of the palace courtyard, and each of the queens is then led by a bishop to the place where she is to appear at the table in the presence of the kings (658, 2-3). An official banquet marks the end of the coronation ceremonies.

If the coronation thus described by the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* is examined in the light of research based on records of actual coronations and on liturgical coronation orders it will be found that the poet has portrayed a scene which in none of its details deviates from the historical realities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the ceremonies at Worms crowns were placed on the heads of four royal personages. For the two queens it was their inaugural coronation on the occasion of their marriage to royal husbands. For the two kings the event was a festival coronation, comparable to the festival coronation described by Walther when he says,

Ez gienc eins tages als unser herre wart geboren  
 von einer maget dier im ze muoter hâte erkorn,  
 ze Megdeburc der küene Philippes schône.  
 Dâ gienc eins keisers bruoder und eins keisers kint  
 in einer wât, swie doch die namen drîge sint:  
 er truoc des riches zepter und die krône.

These lines are quoted by Klewitz<sup>8</sup> in a study published in 1939 in which he traces the development of the festival coronation in Germany through

<sup>8</sup> Hans-Walter Klewitz, "Die Festkrönungen der deutschen Könige," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, XXVIII.

the Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen dynasties to its swift decline after 1200. Supported by the conclusions of Schramm in his studies of the coronation in medieval France and England, Klewitz proves that the festival coronation was not, as was hitherto believed, merely a matter of courtly ceremonial, but was a significant ecclesiastico-legal act. The rise of festival coronations in the early eleventh century was closely connected with the growing influence of the church on the monarchy and reflected now the attempt of the church to increase its temporal power and now the desire of a king to secure the support of the Pope. An interesting illustration of this state of affairs can be seen in an incident from the reign of William the Conqueror. At Easter, 1070, William held court at Winchester, and on this occasion he permitted the papal legates who were in England at the time to perform the customary festival coronation, thus proclaiming publicly the fact that the Pope recognized the legality of the position he had so recently obtained by conquest.<sup>9</sup> Festival coronations took place mainly at Christmas and Easter, on the days of saints who happened to have some political significance, and on family occasions such as the marriage or remarriage of the king or one of his sons.

When Prünhilt became his queen, Gunther had undoubtedly already been crowned king of the Burgundians, but according to Klewitz (p. 62), it would have been unthinkable for a king to stand uncrowned while his consort wore a crown, and therefore Gunther had to be crowned again with Prünhilt. Klewitz shows that even a king whose official coronation had not yet taken place could take part in a festival coronation if political expediency seemed to dictate such a course (p. 64), and thus the festival coronation of Sivrit was also in keeping with historical reality. At the time of his marriage Sivrit had not yet been crowned king in his own country (43,2). He had, however, been elected by his father's vassals to succeed to the throne (42,2-3), and, as he told Gunther on his arrival in Worms (109,1) and as was shown by the crown painted on his shield when he went to the Saxon wars (215,1-2), he possessed the undisputed right to wear a crown. What crown he actually wore in Worms is purely a matter of speculation. It is quite possible that the Burgundian kings had four crowns, since the Carolingians, for example, are known to have had a number of crowns in their possession.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand it is quite conceivable that Sivrit had at least one crown with him when he travelled to Worms. The poet, though he makes no mention of a crown, does not weary of emphasizing the very great elegance of Sivrit and his group of warriors on their journey. There is no doubt that medieval kings were in the habit of taking crowns with them not only on their numerous itineraries but even when they went to

<sup>9</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Geschichte des englischen Königtums im Lichte der Krönung*, Weimar, 1937, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, p. 388.

war; the story is told of Charles the Bald that in a campaign against the Normans he lost three crowns to the enemy — though he is reported to have recovered them (with several gems missing) a few days later.

It has been noted that the coronation ceremonies for Prünhilt actually began when she was seen wearing a crown at her marriage banquet. Klewitz believes, though he does not claim to have proved the point, that it was customary in Germany for a royal couple to wear their crowns at the wedding ceremony which usually preceded the inaugural coronation of the new queen (p. 63, footnote). It has further been noted that the end of the coronation ceremonies was marked by a coronation banquet, the official nature of which was made quite clear by the fact that each of the queens was escorted to her place by a bishop. Both Schramm and Klewitz in their studies of German coronations and festival coronations point out that no coronation of any kind was complete without the concluding banquet, and hence in this particular too, the poet was faithful to tradition.

The second occasion in the *Nibelungenlied* on which a crown is worn in Worms is during the visit of Sîvrit, Kriemhilt, and Sigemunt to the Burgundian kings many years later. Here only a festival coronation is involved. On the morning of the day following the arrival of the guests, the kings and queens go "under krône/in das münster wît (812, 3)." After hearing mass they return "mit vil manigen êren (813, 2)" to the palace where later they are seen going to the table (813, 2-3). Again the festival coronation concludes with a banquet. Both Schramm and Klewitz emphasize the fact that the function of the festival coronation was to make manifest the king as the ruler of the people, and Klewitz points out that this function could be fulfilled only if the festival coronation took place in circumstances which permitted the participation of more people than were included in the usual entourage of the king. Klewitz observes further that the climax of a festival coronation was not the placing of the crown on the king's head, but the procession of the crowned king which took place before the eyes of the people (p. 67 and p. 71). The poet of the *Nibelungenlied* was obviously aware of these facts. On the occasion of the festival coronation pure and simple he describes the procession to the cathedral and tells with what pomp the rulers make their way back to the palace, but the events inside the cathedral he dismisses in a subordinate clause: "Dô si gehôrten messe (813, 1)." For both coronations large numbers of people have come to Worms, and crowds press to see their share of the public celebrations.

It has already been observed that at the time of the coronation of Prünhilt and Kriemhilt in Worms, Sîvrit had not yet been crowned king in his own country. The first use of the word *krône* in the *Nibelungenlied* is when Sîvrit refuses to be crowned because his parents are still living (43, 2). His refusal is interpreted by Nelly Dürrenmatt

(p. 152) as "hövescheit," but such an interpretation is not only unsupported by the text, but is in poor accord with the facts of medieval history. Until about 1200 in western Europe the coronation of an heir during the lifetime of a reigning monarch was frequently a vital political issue and a subject of intense diplomatic activity on the part of both state and church. At a time when succession to the throne was hereditary to a limited degree only and was contingent on the election of one among possibly a number of candidates having certain qualifications, a king often attempted while at the height of his power to force or forestall the election by means of the coronation of one of his sons. This was done especially in cases where the hereditary heir seemed unlikely to win the support of church or nobility or where he lacked the vigor necessary to assert his claim successfully. It is therefore unlikely that Sîvrit's reluctance to wear the crown has anything to do with "hövescheit"; rather it can be assumed to be the culminating piece of evidence in the poet's elaborate demonstration of Sîvrit's personal superiority. A direct heir, designated furthermore by the nobility as successor to the throne (42,2-3), and possessing the inward attributes of royalty to such a degree that he with ease outstripped all competitors in everything he chose to undertake, had no need to wear the outward sign of royal authority. This theory cannot be proved conclusively, but it is at least supported by historical reality. The suggestion that he was motivated by "hövescheit" suffers moreover from the serious disadvantage of making Sîvrit suddenly appear less "hövesch" when, after his marriage to Kriemhilt, he finally does agree to wear the crown in his parents' presence.

The reason for his willingness to accept the crown on his return to Santen is made clear while Sîvrit is still in Worms, discussing with the Burgundian kings the question of Kriemhilt's inheritance. Sîvrit suggests that Kriemhilt can renounce her claim to a share of the Burgundian possessions since, if he lives to see her wearing the crown in his own country, "si muoz werden rîcher/dann' iemen lebender sî (695,3)." It is his obligation to secure for Kriemhilt the powerful position she deserves, and to do this he must consent to the coronation which for himself alone was superfluous. From Sigemunt's point of view, on the other hand, the coronation in Santen of so celebrated a princess is a politically advantageous move, since it will give added importance to his kingdom (704,1-3).

Altogether the crown is mentioned no less than eight times in reference to the occasion on which, having returned to Niderlant with his bride, Sîvrit is publicly invested with the crown by his father. The poet does not, however, give a precise account of the actual coronation in Santen. There are two immediately obvious reasons for this. Such an account, so soon after the coronation in Worms, would have been rep-



entious. Furthermore the subject of the *Nibelungenlied* is not the history of Niderlant nor even the story of Sîvrit, but rather the fall of the Burgundian kings with their seat at Worms. Beyond these considerations, however, it is noteworthy that Santen, in spite of its possession of a cathedral and its relative prominence in the Middle Ages, does not seem to have been the scene of an actual coronation, while at Worms, on the other hand, several inaugural coronations and numerous festival coronations are known to have taken place. Klewitz (p. 95) lists no less than twelve festival coronations in Worms in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, while as early as 895 the Emperor Arnulf had his son Zwentibold crowned king of Lorraine in the cathedral at Worms in the presence of the three powerful archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier. The occasion was the first coronation of a ruler lower in rank than the emperor at which members of the clergy officiated.<sup>11</sup> In 1156 Worms was again the scene of a coronation when Beatrix, the second wife of Frederick I, was crowned there by the archbishop of Trier. The fact that Isabella of England was crowned in Worms in 1235 is here irrelevant, except in so far as it indicates that Worms continued to be thought of as an appropriate coronation setting.

With the exception of the use of the word *krône* twice (1675,2; 1678,4) in connection with Ruedeger's daughter and her proposed marriage to Giselher, all the remaining occurrences of the word apply to Kriemhilt. After the death of Sîvrit, Sigemunt assures Kriemhilt that if she returns to Santen with him his land and his crown shall be subject to her (1075,3) and she shall wear the crown in the presence of all his kinsmen (1086,2). Kriemhilt refuses, and the theme is quickly forgotten, since Santen has no further part to play in the history of the Burgundians. Thirteen years later Kriemhilt is again offered a crown. After having ascertained her worthiness to wear the crown in his country (1149,2), Etzel has sent Ruedeger to the Rhine to win Kriemhilt as his queen. Passing through Bechelâren on his way, Ruedeger tells his wife of his mission, and Gotelint rejoices to think that Kriemhilt will wear their crown and console them for the loss of Helche (1170,3-4). Arriving in Worms, Ruedeger makes to the Burgundian kings the formal offer of Helche's crown for their sister (1199, 3-4). The brothers favor the proposal, but Hagen objects. As the climax of a series of arguments against the marriage to Etzel, Hagen warns,

und sol diu edele Kriemhilt      Helchen krône tragen,  
si getuot uns leide,      swie si gefüegez daz.

In possession of the power of which the crown is the symbol, Kriemhilt will be certain of her revenge. In his private negotiations with Kriemhilt, Ruedeger reminds her of the very great power of King Etzel and assures her that if she will deign to wear the crown at Etzel's side she

<sup>11</sup> Schramm, "Die Krönung in Deutschland," p. 190.

will have suzerainty over twelve other crowns (1235,2) and will be given the lands of thirty princes. Finally Kriemhilt is crowned queen in Etzel's land (1374,4), but beyond noting the munificence which marked the event, the author gives no account of the coronation ceremonies.

The crown is mentioned for the last time in the *Nibelungenlied* by Kriemhilt herself. Having seen Hagen and Volkêr sitting on a bench below her window, Kriemhilt has assembled four hundred of Etzel's men to avenge her wrongs. The men are ready to meet Hagen when the queen orders them to wait a while because she intends to go to her enemies wearing the crown (1770, 3-4). She will confront Hagen not only with her person but also with the symbol of her sovereign power. This is not the first time that Kriemhilt herself has made mention of the crown. In the course of the quarrel of the queens in which Beyschlag<sup>12</sup> sees the ultimate cause of the fall of the Burgundians, Kriemhilt rejects Prûnhilt's claim to homage and proposes to prove by the splendor of her appearance at court that she is not merely the equal of Prûnhilt but indeed her superior. She adds (829, 2-3):

ich wil selbe wesen tiuwerr      danne iemen habe bekant  
deheine kûneginne      diu krône ie her getruoc.

There now follows a detailed description of the magnificence of Kriemhilt and her women as they prepare for their public vindication, but no mention is made of the crown. Kriemhilt is still the member of a society so ruled by law and custom that crowns were no longer worn at a monarch's whim. Years later, forced into unusual circumstances, she resorts to unusual measures, and reverting to the manners of less ordered times she places the crown on her own head to show her enemy that she commands the means to subdue him. But the symbol cannot replace the substance. With the death of Sîvrit, whose intrinsic greatness was such that he could forego the extrinsic evidence of it (43,2), and with the loss of Sîvrit's hoard, Kriemhilt's power has failed at the source. She can, it is true, destroy her enemy, but in so doing she finds only destruction for herself.

Looking back it will be seen that in a majority of instances the word *krône* has been applied in the *Nibelungenlied* to queens rather than kings, but to queens in their specific capacity of queen consort. The poet has expressed little interest in the fact that Prûnhilt was a queen in her own right before ever having heard of Gunther. Her importance for the *Nibelungenlied* lies not in her person but in her position as Gunther's queen, a position which gives her sovereignty over the king's land, his castles, and his men (619, 3-4). Kriemhilt, the carefully guarded princess, becomes a ruling queen by reason of her marriage to Sîvrit, and it has already been observed that Sîvrit himself places great emphasis on the power she is to wield, a power which the poet mentions again on

<sup>12</sup> Siegfried Beyschlag, "Das *Nibelungenlied* in gegenwärtiger Sicht," *Wirkendes Wort*, April/Mai 1953, p. 198.

the occasion of Sigelint's death (717, 2-3):

dô hete'n gewalt mit alle      der edelen Uoten kint,  
der sô rîchen vrouwen      ob landen wol gezam.

As Etzel's consort Kriemhilt is raised once more to a position of similar authority, when as crowned queen she rules over (1385, 2-3)

alle des küniges mâge      unt alle sîne man,  
daz nie diu vrouwe Helche      so gewaldeclîch gebôt.

Queens such as the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* saw them were typical of the earlier centuries of German history. It is well known that in the early period of the Holy Roman Empire a number of distinguished women played a politically influential part as queen consorts, and it is a fact, ironical though this may seem, that the rise of courtly lady worship coincided with a sharp decline in the political importance of women. In *Die Frau als Herrscherin im hohen Mittelalter* Thilo Vogelsang explains the power exercised by queen consorts in the period of the Saxon and Franconian emperors and shows how it dwindled to the point of insignificance in the Hohenstaufen period. Social pre-eminence in a sphere in which aesthetic considerations prevailed had replaced active intervention in affairs of state.<sup>13</sup>

The literary reflection of the change indicated here can be seen in a comparison suggested by de Boor. In the course of his discussion of the women of the *Nibelungenlied*, in which, incidentally he is concerned with their behavior as women rather than as queens, de Boor makes the point that when Sîvrit returns with his bride to his own country where he becomes an exemplary ruler, the same thing has happened apparently as in *Érec* (p. 161). Having made this remark, de Boor does not pursue the parallel any further, nor does he explain his use of the word apparent in drawing the parallel. Actually the return of *Érec* as described by Hartmann differs in many respects from Sîvrit's return to Niderlant with Kriemhilt. Of interest here is only the word *krône*, which occurs twice in the concluding portion of *Érec* referred to by de Boor. The first occurrence is when Hartmann reports that *Érec* received the crown (10064-5) worn by his late father. The occasion is marked by elaborate festivities, but there is not a hint of anything resembling a coronation. Above all there is no mention of a crown for *Ênîte*, and even though originally *Érec*'s father had wished to confer the authority in his kingdom on her as well as on his son (2916-2923), there is no suggestion that *Ênîte* actually possesses any ruling power. For the courtly poet it is enough that her sufferings are at an end, that joy and honor await her, with correct treatment from her reformed husband,

wan er nâch êren lebte  
und so daz im got gebte

<sup>13</sup> Thilo Vogelsang, *Die Frau als Herrscherin im hohen Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1954, p. 86 and also p. 61.



mit väterlichem lône,  
 nâch der werlt krône,  
 im und sinem wibe,  
 mit dem êwegen libe. (10124-29)

This second occurrence of *krône* introduces an element completely foreign to the *Nibelungenlied*.

The poet of the *Nibelungenlied* has used the word *krône* in only two ways: primarily to designate the actual crown worn by kings and queens in the display of their royal power, and secondarily to symbolize that power in the expression *krône tragen* in the sense of ruling or exercising royal authority. Nowhere in the *Nibelungenlied* does the word occur in a connotation which is not political. Hartmann's *der werlt krône*, on the other hand, seems to be a figure of speech for the glory of this world in contrast with the eternal life on which the courtly poet sets his hope. It is beyond the scope of the present study to examine in detail the use of the word *krône* in the courtly epics; a few examples will serve by antithesis to show still more clearly the self-imposed limitations of the poet of the *Nibelungenlied*. In the epic which has been entitled *Diu Crône*, Heinrich von dem Türlin, in a strikingly metaphorical use of the word compares his work to a crown set all around with precious stones, where strange pictures can be seen. In *Parzival* the word *krône* is often merely part of a biographical note to indicate the royal extraction of some of the numerous persons mentioned in the work, but beyond this Wolfram delights in using *krône* as a sort of metaphorical superlative. To quote only a few instances, *scham is der sele krône* (319.10), there gleams from the distance *aller ander bürge ein krône* (350.20), Gawain is counted by *frou Bêne zir hôhsten freuden krône* (692.5), while Parzival himself is addressed as *du krône menschen heiles* (781.14).<sup>14</sup>

The absence of *krône* in the *Nibelungenlied* in any connotation other than political becomes even more remarkable when compared with the prevalence of the word in the figurative language of the Middle Ages outside the sphere of the courtly epic. In tracing the history of the crown in medieval Europe Schramm points out the difficulties created by the frequent metaphorical use of *corona* in the Bible and its effect on medieval art. He mentions as an example "the crown of life," which resulted in the portrayal of saints carrying crowns in their hands.<sup>15</sup> To be reminded of other expressions, such as "a virtuous woman is a crown to her husband," a "crown of rejoicing," or "a crown of righteousness," one need only glance at any Biblical concordance. The language of the Bible left its traces in medieval coronation orders. As

<sup>14</sup> The examples from *Parzival* were found with the help of Alfred Senn and Winfred Lehmann, *Word-Index to Wolfram's Parzival*, University of Wisconsin, 1938.

<sup>15</sup> Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, p. 377-378.

early as the ninth century such metaphors as a crown of spiritual jewels, or the crown of justice were used in coronation services, while God was besought to crown the ruler with glory and honor.<sup>30</sup> It is quite impossible to assume that the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* was unaware of these and similar metaphorical uses of *krône*, and it is scarcely necessary to note that he has himself made skilful use of figurative language. It is possible to assume only that when he talks about the crown he is interested solely in its political and historical aspects. In such a matter, moreover, it cannot reasonably be claimed that the poet was limited by what he found in his sources. The subject of the crown was certainly one which allowed sufficient scope for innovation. The actual use he chose to make of the word seems to substantiate the opinion of Beyschlag when he says, "daß der Dichter diejenige Seite der aristokratisch-ritterlichen Welt seiner Zeit, die der höfische Roman ausschließt, in seine Vorzeitfabel einbezieht: das Leben der Könige und Landherren als Herrscher und Herrschervasallen, deren oberstes Gesetz des Handelns die harten und unerbittlichen Notwendigkeiten herrscherlichen Denkens sind." Beyschlag, however, having drawn this sharp distinction between *Nibelungenlied* and courtly novel, concludes by placing the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* side by side with Wolfram as his great counterpart and as an exponent with him of the courtly theme *wie man zer werlde solde leben* (p. 199). The foregoing findings on the poet's treatment of the crown seem to hint that he was possibly concerned neither with this nor with any other courtly theme. A series of similar investigations would, however, be needed before definite proof of such a contention could be offered.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Krull, *Die Salbung und Krönung der deutschen Königinnen und Kaiserinnen im Mittelalter*, Halle, 1911, p. 15-17.



## A NOTE ON OBJECT CLAUSES WITHOUT "DAB" AFTER NEGATIVE GOVERNING VERBS

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In a recent article (*Monatshefte XLVII*, 329-38), I discussed the salient features of the negative governing clauses introducing object clauses without *daß*, e.g. in discourse sentences such as: *Ich sage nicht, keiner von uns sei anders* (Krämer-Badoni), *Sie dürfen nicht glauben, das Gericht hätte leichtfertig entschieden* (Risse). Owing to the fact that several modern syntax writers, such as Curme, Dal, and Kruisinga assert that object clauses without *daß* do not (and cannot) occur after negative governing clauses (see p. 329), I naively arrived at the conclusion: "We have reason to believe that [such sentences] are of relatively recent origin as productive types, since Curme, Dal, Kruisinga and others do not seem to have been aware of their existence" (p. 330). The main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that this conclusion was erroneous. In addition, an attempt will be made to establish the possible origin of the curious misconception on the part of the eminent scholars named above.

Professor Dal seems to adhere to her earlier opinion when she states in a recent short review of my article: "It [the article] points out a new type of clause connection in its earliest phase [tilblivelsesfasen,] as it were."<sup>1</sup> However, she has unwittingly pointed out a still earlier "phase" herself: In the same book by Dal that contains the statement, "Nach negiertem Hauptsatzverbum kann man nur *daß*-Satz verwenden,"<sup>2</sup> one finds what appears to be a clear example to the contrary (very general statements are often not amenable to exact interpretation). She writes as follows: "Die abhängigen Feststellungssätze, die syntaktisch als ein Nominalkasus des Hauptsatzes fungieren, können ohne einleitendes Bindewort stehen . . . Als Objekt stehen sie besonders nach Verben der Wahrnehmung, der Erkenntnis und der Äußerung: . . . *er sah ein, er war vergeblich; ich habe nicht gewußt, sie waren böse* (Ludwig)."<sup>3</sup> The second example here would seem to be all but unique in the current literary language: I have not been able to find a single parallel sentence (with *nicht wissen* in the governing clause, the indicative mode in the object clause) in the more than fifty books I have read lately with such constructions in mind. Therefore, I can find no reason for changing or restating my earlier conclusion (p. 333), that zero-introduced object

<sup>1</sup> *University of Bergen, Jnr.* 20/III/55, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> I. Dal, *Kurze deutsche Syntax* (Tübingen, 1952), p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Dal, p. 194. One may note that, from the point of view of statistical dominance, this statement is at present only valid for the "Verben . . . der Äußerung," cf. my forthcoming article, "Gliedsätze mit oder ohne *daß* im modernen Deutschen" (to be printed in *Tijdschrift voor levende talen*, volume XXII). Thus, the omission of the connective *daß* after *sah ein* is of highly infrequent occurrence.

clauses dependent on negative governing verbs occur only after what Behaghel terms "indifferente Verben" (such as *antworten*, *behaupten*, *denken*, *glauben*, *meinen*, *sagen*, etc.),<sup>4</sup> at least in the novelistic literary language.

The use of object clauses without *daß* after negated "indifferente Verben" can hardly be considered to represent a recent innovation in the history of the German language. As early as around 1000, Notker, who in his prose rarely omitted *dáz*, occasionally wrote such sentences as *ih newâne, mir muoza sí*.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether Otfrid's apparently similar sentences *nī wân ih, imo brusti* and *nī wānu, sie ouh thes thâti*<sup>6</sup> are to be considered examples of this sentence type. Erdmann believes the negation particles in the governing clauses of these sentences are actually "Teile des abhängigen Nebensatzes" and, consequently, that the construction is only a variant of the "normal" sentence form, in Erdmann's words, "eine stilistische Eigenheit."<sup>7</sup> However that may be, I am here chiefly interested in finding out whether the sentence types under discussion occur in the language that led directly up to the modern German literary standard, the early NHG written language. This is indeed the case. The following nine examples are found in Martin Luther's classical translation of the Bible, in its 1545 edition,<sup>8</sup> which is the basis for all later editions:

Das du nicht sagest, du habest Abram reich gemacht. (1 Mose 14.23)

Sagt ich euch nicht, jr soltet nicht hin gehen? (2 König. 2.18)

Sagt ich nicht, du soltest mich nicht teusschen? (2 König. 4.28)

Das nicht mein Feind rhüme, Er sey mein mechtig worden.

(Psalm 13.5)

Meinstu nicht der die hertzen weiset, merckets? (Sprüche 24.12)

hab ich dir nicht gesagt, So du gleuben würdest, du soltest die herrligkeit Gottes sehen? (Johs. 11.40)

Sollen wir nicht meinen, die Gottheit sey gleich den gülden . . . Bilden. (Apostelg. 17.29)

Das nicht jemand sagen möge, Ich hette auff meinen namen getauft. (1 Korinth. 1.15)

das nicht jemand wehne, ich sey töricht. (2 Korinth. 11.16)

It seems that all the later editions of Luther's translation of the Bible contain these sentences in the same syntactical form as far as the clause types are concerned.<sup>9</sup> Even in Menge's recent, "more modern"

<sup>4</sup> O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1928), III, 590 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Erdmann, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids* (Halle, 1874), I, 178.

<sup>6</sup> Cited by Erdmann, I, 181.

<sup>7</sup> Erdmann, I, 180.

<sup>8</sup> I am citing from Carl v. Kraus' recent edition (München, 1926-28). A closer examination would possibly disclose more constructions of this kind. The verse numbers are taken from later editions of Luther's translation (the 1545 edition did not have numbered "verses").

<sup>9</sup> I have consulted the editions of 1572, 1844, and 1925 only.



edition of the Bible,<sup>10</sup> which is largely independent of Luther's translation with respect to syntax and style, several almost identical constructions are to be found, e.g. *Habe ich euch nicht gesagt, ihr möchtet nicht hingehen?* (2 König. 4.28). It is worth noticing that also in the examples cited above the negated governing verbs are "indifferente Verben" (in this case *sagen, rhinnen, meinen, wehnen*), which seems to bear out the conclusion stated in my earlier article on the subject with regard to governing verb type. Similarly, these sentences tend to confirm the general validity of the statements of conditions given on p. 338 of that article:

The occurrence of such "unintroduced" clauses after negative governing clauses is most likely if one or more of the following conditions is present:

1. The governing clause contains an imperatival factor, an admonition not to say, think, or believe what is expressed in the indirect clause.
2. The final word of the governing clause is not *nicht*, or a negative adverb or pronoun such as *nie, nimmer, kaum, niemand*, and *keiner*.
3. The governing clause is interrogative . . .
4. The governing verb is *sagen*.

One may conclude, then, that the sentence types under consideration are definitely not of recent origin, that they have been perfectly "normal," though for natural reasons infrequent, syntactical constructions in the written language for centuries. They are, incidentally, also quite current in modern spoken German.<sup>11</sup>

To my knowledge, Blümel was the first German scholar to assert that the connective *daß* is obligatory after negative governing clauses before *some* types of object clauses. Note, however, that he did not make a generalized statement about this. In 1914, he wrote as follows:

Wir sagen — mit scheinbar gleicher Bedeutung — *Ich glaube, Sie sind im Recht* und *Ich glaube, daß Sie im Rechte sind*. Aber wir sagen nur *Ich sage nicht, daß Sie im Rechte sind*, dagegen nicht: *Ich glaube nicht, Sie sind im Recht . . . Sie sind im Recht* muß also eine Bejahung ausdrücken, die so stark ist, daß sie eine Einordnung in einen verneinten Satz nicht verträgt. *Daß Sie im Rechte sind* ist an sich farblos, es nimmt Bejahung und Verneinung . . . von der Färbung des Satzes an, in den es eingeordnet ist.<sup>12</sup>

Further on in the same work, Blümel refers to this restriction of the zero connective (i.e. *daß* omitted) as one of the syntactical phenomena that are very difficult to explain to students, and he uses the very same

<sup>10</sup> *Die Heilige Schrift*, translated by H. Menge, 3rd edition (Stuttgart, 1926).

<sup>11</sup> Professors H. Velten and H. Remak called my attention to this, and several German students at Indiana University have confirmed that such sentences as *Ich will nicht sagen, er wäre krank* are perfectly normal and quite current in modern speech.

<sup>12</sup> R. Blümel, *Einführung in die Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1914), p. 99.

sentence as an example.<sup>13</sup> Kruisinga, then Curme, and finally Dal evidently generalized on the basis of Blümel's former statement (cf. p. 329-30 in my article); witness their examples: all contain the negated governing verb *glauben* preceding only slightly different object clauses. The fact that Blümel writes *daß Sie im Rechte sind*, thus with the indicative, should warn against making a general statement on the basis of his single example. Blümel's own use of such "impossible" sentences should serve as a further warning. For example, the following negative governing clauses preceding object clauses without *daß* are found in his *Einführung in die Syntax*: *Man darf nicht denken* (p. 37), *aber man darf deswegen nicht denken* (p. 47), *Man darf nun keineswegs glauben* (p. 62), *Man darf nun ja nicht glauben* (p. 74), *man darf nicht sagen* (p. 174), *man darf also nicht annehmen* (p. 196) and *Man darf nicht glauben* (p. 255).

It is characteristic that none of the scholars who made or borrowed from each other the spurious generalization from Blümel's example is German. The native German scholars traditionally avoid raising the question (e.g. Behaghel, Paul, Erdman, and Wilmanns), or they merely commit themselves to very cautious statements, such as the following one by Wunderlich-Reis: "Eine zweite Besonderkeit bei verneinenden Zeitwörtern ist der häufige Gebrauch des Bindeworts *daß* mit darauffolgender Wortstellung des Nebensatzes (Endstellung des Zeitworts)."<sup>14</sup> However, this statement is really meaningless (*daß* is, after all, quite "häufig" after positive verbs, too), and it is therefore not much better than the manifestly false conclusions made by the three non-German grammarians.

It is interesting to note how many syntactical problems are brushed over by such basically meaningless though admittedly more or less non-contradictory statements in works on German syntax, and how few scholars go beyond citing earlier works on "difficult" points; most of them even include in their descriptions the "supporting" examples cited by their predecessors. This is of course a perfectly acceptable procedure if the handed-down "rules" are demonstrably valid; if not, honest statements of the definitional and/or descriptive difficulties involved are by far to be preferred. Such statements will stimulate further research, whereas their gratuitous "inherited" counterparts will normally tend to have the opposite effect.

<sup>13</sup> Blümel, pp. 274-75.

<sup>14</sup> H. Wunderlich and H. Reis, *Der deutsche Satzbau*, 3rd edition (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1924), I, 392.



## NATHAN'S CRISIS

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The ring story in Act III, Scene 7, of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* is of such importance for the interpretation of the dramatic poem that the philosophical significance of the scene in which Nathan tells the Friar about the origin of his active tolerance is easily overlooked. In Act IV, Scene 7, Nathan very modestly and in the simplest words relates how the Christians had burned his wife and his seven sons in his brother's house at Gath; how for three days and nights he lay in dust and ashes, raging against God, cursed himself and the world, and swore irreconcilable hatred against the Christians. After those days, he continues, reason gradually came back to him, his belief in God and His inscrutable counsel conquered his despair, and he decided to live according to the will of God, to "practice what he had comprehended long ago." In that moment Recha was intrusted to him by the Friar, then a Christian horseman, and Nathan educated the Christian girl as his own daughter.

In the story of the three rings is laid down the general pattern for the religious evolution of mankind. In a first stage, one undoubted form of religion is accepted and followed by generation after generation, simply by force of tradition. This phase is succeeded by a period of disintegration during which different forms of religion rise in antagonism against one another to such an extent that the fundamental tenets of religion, love of God and fellow-men, are buried under dogmatic beliefs and hatred of other religious groups. Nathan however envisions a third stage, a religion in which all differences between creeds disappear in the harmony of universal love.

The pattern which, in the ring story, is applied to mankind as a whole may also be found in the development of Nathan's personal religion. We know from Nathan's discussion with Sultan Saladin that he grew up in the faith of his forefathers, a faith based on trust in the traditional conviction of God's justice and benevolence manifested in the protection of the pious and righteous. The experience at Gath, however, completely shattered his faith not only in the justice of God's rule, but in his very existence. Nathan isolated himself from his fellow men, since their bestiality had deprived the world and human existence of its value. Completely frustrated in his relationship with fellow men, Nathan now found that life had become utterly meaningless, since the meaning of individual existence can be found only in its function within a group. This group in turn derives its meaning from its function in a larger group, and so forth, so that the meaning of individual life ultimately depends upon its being an integral part of all-encompassing transcendence. In the last analysis it is the isolation forced upon Nathan by the cruelty

of men which is responsible for his a-theism, the loss of any concrete link with his God. In other words, transcendence appears here, though in a negative way, dependent upon an initial concrete experience of transcending the narrow sphere of individual existence. In his distress Nathan might have perpetuated his hatred of the Christian mob and his total distrust in man and thereby would have renounced any possibility of ever restoring meaning to his life; such renunciation would have been tantamount to moral and religious suicide. Or he might have stoically resigned himself to the imperfection of men and the irrationality of evil. In either case, he would have surrendered to mere existence without substance and meaning; he would have failed to realize himself in freedom and authenticity. In order to become his authentic self he had to overcome his despair and yet, in some way, preserve the sorrow for the loss of his dearest ones. Preserving the memory of the deceased means recognizing death as the cruel absurdity it is from the objective, empirical point of view. From an existential point of view, however, it is an invitation to give this absurdity some positive value. That can be achieved only by courageously accepting the fate of his family as the price to be paid for authentic, meaningful existence.

When reason gradually returns to Nathan and speaks to him: "And yet God is! That too was God's counsel!" he realizes that defiance of God has deprived his life of all meaning and reduced him to an indifferent point in the endless flux of things. He realizes that in spite of all adversities he can be a meaningful self only inasmuch as he, like Job, accepts the unfathomable mystery of God's counsel. For, as stated above, the ultimate meaning of individual existence can be found only in transcendence. Such philosophical insight does not in itself establish a genuine relationship to transcendence; all it can provide is the idea of God and the idea of divine counsel. However this insight is a necessary preliminary step towards authenticity and transcendence. It is a first phase in the transformation of an experience, which for man's consciousness is entirely negative and irreducible, into an incentive to grow beyond his empirical self, to be more man than he has ever been.

Nathan's moral and religious growth finds its consummation when he accepts the child of a Christian knight as his own and transfers to the child all the love which he had for his family. In his care for Recha, Nathan succeeds in both overcoming and retaining the sorrowful memory of his murdered wife and sons. Moreover, as much as is humanly possible he gives meaning to their otherwise meaningless death by deriving from their horrible fate the obligation to extend his love and care to all men, not least to those who destroyed his own happiness, because they more than all others need the spiritual guidance of his noble example. Nathan's wisdom has its origin in that moment when he accepted the challenge of his unbearable suffering and used the most negative expe-

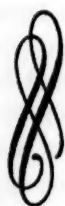


rience to attain the most positive value accessible to man, to be his authentic self and to actualize the divine spirit within himself, not by mere resignation to an inalterable fate, like Job, but by an act of self-overcoming and self-transcending love in which morality becomes truly religious.

Nowhere in the poem is the love of fellow men so convincingly connected with the love of God; nowhere is morality, the exclusive prerogative of man, so intimately and intrinsically related to the religious experience of transcendence as in Nathan's simple report about his crisis. That is the reason why the religious worth of every character must be measured not only by applying the standards of the ring story to his or her attitude towards others but also by comparing the religious experience and practice of everyone with those of Nathan. The example of the Patriarch may suffice to substantiate this point; for since he represents the complete opposite of Nathan, all other characters may easily be arranged between the two poles, as is customarily done on the basis of the standards set up in the ring story. With his arrogance, treachery, and brutal intolerance, and with his ambition to exercise his power over the faithful and the "infidels" alike, he has isolated himself from all fellow men. He has reduced men to mere objects without realizing that by doing so he himself has become obsessed by the object of his ambition; in his attempt to aggrandize his personal glory he has destroyed the very core of his personality, that is, that freedom which consists in the ability of deriving the greatest positive value from the most negative experience. His satanism consists in the fact that he is incapable of overcoming his narrow self; without this initial transcendence God must remain an empty idea for him, and this idea in turn is no more than a dead instrument for his own selfish ends.

Lessing's portrayal of the Patriarch as well as the description of Nathan's religious growth reflect important historical changes in the conception of the deity, which may briefly be indicated. It is obvious that the patriarch with his claim to be the chosen, infallible representative of God's will on earth stands for those authoritative institutions which, in the course of centuries, have succeeded in extinguishing all genuine religious experience by substituting for it their complicated systems of dogma, their external dispensation of divine grace, and their magic rites; and which by their exclusive claim of salvation have fostered a hatred which contradicts not only the foundation of their creed, but even the very principle of transcendence. Nathan's development on the other hand may be taken as a symbol of the historical development which may be summarized in the terms *deus a quo* and *deus ad quem*, a development in which the emphasis in the conception of God shifted from God as the cause of all things to that of the divine aim and end of man's endeavor. This change means that man has the obligation to strive for the final identity of divine and humane, or, expressed in metaphysical terms, to

transform the transcendent into an immanent deity. That is the core of Nathan's struggle: (1) to free himself from the conception of a God who is the prime cause of all that happens in this world and who therefore must be held responsible for the evil that destroyed his family; (2) to actualize the divine within himself and, through his example, in his fellow men.



## NEWS AND NOTES

### AN UNPUBLISHED HERMANN HESSE STORY

Hermann Hesse has presented the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation with an unpublished story, *Haus des Friedens*, which will appear in the fall issue (October-November) of the *American-German Review*. In a letter to the Foundation Hesse writes:

In Carl Schurz verehere und liebe ich nicht nur einen edlen Charakter und guten Demokraten, sondern auch einen bedeutenden Kollegen. Seine Lebenserinnerungen sind auch in literarischer Hinsicht ein Meisterwerk.

—Ralph Charles Wood, Executive Director  
Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation

### CHICAGO HONORS JULIUS SCHWIETERING

On June 8, 1956, at its Spring Convocation, the University of Chicago conferred on Professor Julius Schwietering of the University of Frankfurt the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters with the following citation: "Pre-eminent medievalist, original interpreter of literature in the full context of related disciplines, pioneer in new approaches to folklore, stimulating author and editor." This is only the second time in the University's history that a scholar in the field of German was so honored, the first honorary degree having been given to Professor H. Collitz in 1916.

—Helen M. Gamer, Chairman  
Department of German  
University of Chicago

### THE GOETHE SOCIETIES OF BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON

The Goethe Societies of Baltimore and Washington (two independent organizations, though still arranging cooperatively their invitations to outside speakers) sponsored the following lecture program between October 1955 and May 1956. The letters in parenthesis indicate whether the lecture was given in Baltimore or Washington.

Heinrich Schneider (Harvard), "Lessing und die Religion der Goethezeit" (B); John R. Cary (Haverford), "Theodor Fontane's Berlin Novels" (W, B); Eitel Wolf Dobert (Maryland), "Jean Paul, Kautz oder Dichter?" (W); Richard Plant (City College New York), "Das psychologische Gerüst in Schillers Dramen" (W); Bruno E. Werner (German Embassy), "Die Deutschen und ihr Theater" (B); Augustus J. Pahl (Maryland), "Nikolaus Lenau und sein Faust" (W); Ernst Feise (Johns Hopkins), "Heine the Poet" (B, W); Wolfgang Kayser (Göttingen), "Das Groteske in Malerei und Dichtung" (B), "Der Erzähler im Roman" (W); Heinrich Scheider (Harvard), "Lessing, Mozart und Goethe als Freimaurer des 18. Jahrhunderts" (W); Ernst Bodenheimer (Baltimore), "How to look at a work of art" (B).

For a comprehensive list of lectures, arranged by the two Societies during their twenty-five years history see the article by Augustus J. Pahl, "The Goethe Societies of Baltimore and Washington," in the *Twenty-ninth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1956), pp. 58-63.  
—D. C.

### THE CHICAGO FOLKLORE PRIZE

The Chicago Folklore Prize was established by the International Folklore Association and is awarded annually by the University of Chicago for an important contribution to the study of folklore. Students, candidates for higher degrees, and established scholars may compete for the Prize. The contribution may be a monograph, thesis, essay, article, or a collection of materials. No restriction is placed on the contestant's choice of topic or selection of material: the term "folklore" is here used in its broadest sense (e.g., American, European, etc. folklore; anthropological, literary, religious, etc. folklore).

It is permissible to submit material which has appeared in print, provided that such material be submitted within one year from the time of publication. The successful contestant who submits material in typed form and has this material published subsequently, is expected to send a copy of the printed monograph, etc., to the University of Chicago, for the library. Sufficient postage should be included if the contestant wishes to have his material returned. Monographs and collections, etc., must be submitted before *April 15, 1957* to the Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, the University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois. The Chicago Folklore Prize is a cash award of about \$50.00. The recipient's name is published in the Convocation Statement in June.

Winners for 1956 were D. K. Wilgus of Western Kentucky State College with "A History of Anglo-American Ballad Scholarship since 1898," and Barbara Allen Woods, University of Pennsylvania, with "The Devil in Dog Form." Both prize-winning contributions were dissertations for the Ph.D. degree.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, mit einer Einführung in die Fragen der Sprachbetrachtung.*

*Von Hugo Moser. Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1955. Zweite, umgearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. 231 Seiten.*

The first edition of Hugo Moser's *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte* appeared in 1950 as Volume 19 of the CES-Bücherei, published by Curt E. Schwab in Stuttgart. The second edition (5. bis 7. Tausend) appeared in the same series, but with substantially changed format. The pages are now ½ centimeter larger in each dimension and the margins a full centimeter wider. The type is a point larger and so easier and more pleasant to read.



In addition, a good deal of emendation and enlargement has taken place. There are 231 pages instead of 184; 14 maps instead of 6; the bibliographical entries have been better than doubled. The most extensive changes in the text are in the last fifty pages. These deal in the main with the New High German Standard Language (*Einheitssprache*), its evolution and spread, its relation to the dialects and to the *Umgangssprache*.

The first 57 pages of the book deal with the nature of language and of linguistic change. First we have a brief historical survey of linguistic studies from antiquity onward. With the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the discussion becomes more full. After the history comes the discussion of the causes, conditions of spread, regularity and direction of linguistic change. This is a rapid, astonishingly complete, necessarily superficial summary, strongly oriented toward the sociological point of view. A great many names are mentioned and since there is an index of names one could check to uncover the omissions. I did notice that when writing of Wundt and *Lautgebärde* Moser does not mention Sir Richard Paget. Nor is Hjelmslev mentioned. The only American name in this section was that of William Dwight Whitney.

The second major portion of the book concerns the history of the German language. The author begins with Indo-European (a term which he prefers to *indogermanisch*). The discussion is conventional, except that Moser thinks Hittite is an Indo-European language and that it shows the oldest documents of that family of languages. It is surprising that Sturtevant's work in this area is not at least mentioned. In these pages a good many linguistic forms are cited to illustrate points made. I did not notice any that was incorrect, although there are some forms cited for Gothic (e.g. *ēttum*, *brēkum*, p. 71) which do not occur. References to *Ablaut* are essentially conservative, very sketchy, and without reference to laryngeals.

In the grouping of the Germanic languages Moser follows Maurer. The only modification he allows himself is the equation of *Elbgermanen* with *Sueben* and of *Oder-Weichselgermanen* with *Ostgermanen*. The word *deutsch* is discussed carefully and the author concludes that a decision as to the semantic development of the word is probably impossible.

The author has revised his division of the history of the evolution of the German language, and now divides this story into five rather than three "periods": Vordeutsch (2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. bis etwa 770), Frühdeutsch (frühmittelalterliches Deutsch, etwa 770-1170), Hochmittelalterliches Deutsch (etwa 1170-1250), Spätmittelalterliches Deutsch (etwa 1250-1500), Neudeutsch (seit 1500). It is this revision which has caused most of the changes in the later portions of the text.

Moser's discussion of the origin of the unified literary language is clear, well-balanced, and adequate. The final paragraphs which concern the immediate present and the impact of the new population shifts and the new communications facilities upon the language are judicious and interesting. Moser thinks present conditions favor the development of more inclusive regional *Umgangssprachen*, the recession of the dialects, and the increased domination of the *Hochsprache* as the standard to be imitated.

This is a thoroughly competent book. It will repay reading by anyone equipped to understand it. There are probably instances in which the individual scholar may wish that the summary statements had been made a bit differently, but I have not noticed any that could be called incorrect. The author's style is acceptable: there is only one sentence the meaning of which thus far wholly eludes me. It is on page 95 and is identical with the sentence of the first edition. The typography is first-class. The only error of any consequence which caught my eye was the transposition *nld.* for *ndl.* in the list of abbreviations on page 218. In the text the abbreviation is correctly set. There is an index of names and subjects which covers eleven pages and appears to be complete.

University of Wisconsin.

—R-M. S. Heffner

**English-German, German English Dictionary in Two Volumes.**

*Volume I.* By Karl Wildhagen. Sixth, unaltered edition. Wiesbaden: Brandstetter-Verlag, 1956. Pp. xxii + 822. *Volume II.* By Karl Wildhagen and Will Héraucourt. First edition. Wiesbaden: Brandstetter-Verlag, 1953. Pp. xxvi + 1345. Price \$21.90.

Although it was originally intended as a revision of the *Dictionary of the English and German Languages* by William James, the Wildhagen-Héraucourt thesaurus is an entirely new opus. Volume I is the work of Karl Wildhagen, late professor of English philology in the University of Kiel. It was first published in 1938, slightly revised in 1943, and re-issued without appreciable change in 1946, 1952, 1954, and 1956. Upon Wildhagen's death in 1945, Will Héraucourt, one time professor of English philology in the University of Königsberg, assumed the task of augmenting and completing the second volume, the first printing of which appeared in 1953.

In size, the new dictionary approximates the abridged edition of the familiar work of Muret-Sanders. However, its type is smaller throughout. (Volume I is still set in *Fraktur*, but volume II is printed in very legible *Antiqua*.) In it, says Héraucourt, "for the first time the German language in its most refined and unrefined [sic] forms is laid open to all who speak English and American" (II, xiv). Wildhagen, in his preface, assures the user somewhat more obliquely that "the language of the United States of America, which has constantly influenced English slang, has been taken into account as far as possible" (I, xii). In the main, the two volumes record the vocabularies current in England and in Germany.

Relatively modern (nineteenth and twentieth century) usage is emphasized in both volumes. As a result, *Wildhagen-Héraucourt* somewhat haphazardly omits a considerable number of words still to be found in *Muret-Sanders* and adds others which are not in the older dictionary. Wanting, for example, from *match* to *maund* and from *vigil* to *violable*, in the English-German tome of *Wildhagen-Héraucourt* are the following words currently listed in *Muret-Sanders*: *matchable*, *match-board*, *match-box*, *match-dipping*, *match-game*, *match-girl*, *match-horses*, *match-joint*, *matchless*-(ness), *match-maker*, *match-plane*, *match-wheel*, *matelassé*, *materialness*, *matinal*, *mating*, *matte*, *matterful*, *matterless*, *matting-tool*, *maty*, *mauley*, *mauling* and *vigone*, *villagery*, *villainage*, *villakin*, *vill-*

*ous, vinaigrous, vindemial, vindemiate, vindicability, vinger-works, vine-grub, vine-knife, vine-leaf vine-prop, vine-reaper, vine-shoot, vinewed, vintry.* On the other hand, *Wildhagen-Héraucourt* indexes *matériel, materialization, math, matriarchy, matricular, matriculatory, mattoid, and vilayet, villanella, villeg(g)iatura, villiform, villus, vimen, vine-growing, vine-louse, vinic, viniculture, vinification* which are missing in *Muret-Sanders*.

According to Wildhagen, however, the characteristic feature of the new collation is not so much the over-all choice of vocabulary. Rather it is "the systematic attempt" to present the word in its syntactic and stylistic context instead of an isolated unit. A comparison of one of Wildhagen's entries with its counterpart in *Muret-Sanders* indicates, at a glance, the extent to which that aim is achieved in the English-German volume.

#### Muret-Sanders

*slow* I a 1. langsam (of in [dat.]; auch *to* mit folgendem inf.). 2. spät, verspätet; Uhr: nachgehend (ant. *fast*). 3. untätig, träge, nachlässig, faul, verdrossen; — *of payment* nachlässig im Bezahlen. 4. schwerfällig. 5. langsam, schleichend (Fieber usw); — *poison* langsam wirkendes Gift. 6. bedächtig, behutsam. 7. schwer von Begriffen, einfältig. 8. *sl.* ohne Leben, tot, langweilig (Gesellschaft, Erzählung, Stadt usw). II *fam* od *poet, adv.* 9. langsam. III *sp* 10. Cricket: — *s pl* langsam gerollte Bälle *m/pl.* IV *v/n.* 11. langsam(er) werden oder fahren, sich langsam(er) bewegen (*to — up* oder *down*). V *v/a.* 12. verlangsamen, hinziehen. Zu — 1: *fig — coach* langsamer Mensch; langweiliger Geselle; *substand* Nölpeter *m.*, —liese *f.*; langsames Ding; — *goer* Langsame(r); — *pace* langsamer Schritt; — *train* langsamer Zug, *fam* Bummelzug; *Spw — and sure* (od — *and steady*) (*wins the race*) Eile mit Weile! Zu — 2: *to be —* nachgehen (Uhr); *my watch is* (od *fam I am ten minutes —* meine Uhr geht zehn Minuten nach.

#### Wildhagen

*slow* I a (-ly *adv.*) 1. (of persons) a. langsam, nicht schnell; — *of speech* 1. im Sprechen; *to be — in doing* nur langsam tun; *to be a — speaker* langsam sprechen; b. schwer v Begriff; schwerfällig; dumm; *to be — in the uptake* e-e lange Leitung h c. spät, unpünktlich; *to be — in arriving* unpünktlich ankommen || säumig, nachlässig; — *of payment* nachlässig im Bezahlen; lässig || — *coach* langsamer Mensch; Trödel Fritz *m* d. nicht schnell (od nicht leicht) erregt, *to be — to take offense* nicht leicht übelnehmen; — *and* (od *but*) *sure* langsam aber sicher || nicht bereit, abgeneigt, *to be — slow to do* widerwillig tun; *not to be — to do* schnell tun 2. (of things) a. langsam gehend; langsam (at a — *pace*) || lässig; — *train* Personen- Bummelzug *m*; *the clock is five minutes —* die Uhr geht 5 Minuten nach || — *motion* Langsambewegung; (film) Zeitlupe *f*; oft *attr.* Zeitlupen- (-*motion picture* -aufnahme *f*) || untätig, flau (*season*) || langweilig, öde b. lange dauernd, langwierig (*journey*) langsam wirkend, allmählich (*growth*), schleichend (*fever*) || lange anhaltend; — *combustion stove* Dauerbrandofen *m*; *hist — match* Lunte *f* e. bewegungshemmend; (of ground) weich, aufgeweicht (a — *turf*) II. *adv.* a (mst betont) langsam (*how — he runs*); *read —* er lies langsam(er) b. *in comp — going* langsamgehend III. *vi/t* || mst

to – down, up) das Tempo verlangsamen; langsam(er) gehen od fahren | vt (Maschinen etc) langsam(er) fahren i IV. *sp* crick langsamer Ball *m*.

The contrast is even greater in the German-English portion of the dictionary. To be sure, *Wildhagen-Héraucourt* also has its limitations. It lacks some of the common idioms and expressions found in much smaller contemporary works. (Note “to drive slow Schritt fahren,” “a slow fire eine kleine Flamme,” “my watch is slow meine Uhr bleibt zurück” in the *English-German and German-English Dictionary of Everyday Usage*.)

In both parts of the new dictionary the entries range from poetic speech to slang. For the most part, abbreviations rather than symbols identify level and category. For reasons of space and “etymological emphasis,” Wildhagen and Héraucourt indicate, derivatives in the two volumes are grouped as far as possible under the main entry. Compounds are treated in like fashion. IPA transcriptions, given for each main entry in English, are based upon Daniel Jones’ *Pronouncing Dictionary* (1937). In the German-English volume, the transcriptions are restricted to deviations from the usual German norm (cf. Balkon, Friseur). The *Oxford Dictionary*, the *Duden* (1934), and the *Sprach-Brockhaus* (1944) are cited as the principal authorities for the English and German orthography. In the second volume, the method of indicating stress by an infixed dot before the accented vowel (cf. Min·ister, her·ein) is unusual, but it is not clearer than any of the older schemes (Mini·ster, herein’ in *Reclam*, Mini·ster, herei’n in *Langenscheidt*, and Minister, herein’ in *Duden*). Unlike Muret-Sanders, *Wildhagen-Héraucourt* catalogs all standard abbreviations and proper names at the end of the dictionary. Also appended in the second part are grammatical aids, lists of weights and measures, a table of international currencies, comparative charts of hat, shoe, suit, and dress sizes, tables of chemical elements, etc.

As German lexicographers continue to persevere in their British tradition, it is not surprising that the Wildhagen-Héraucourt bibliography includes only one American source. Yet the dictionary is almost equally accessible to the American and the English student of German, since its unidentified regionalisms, such as “eine verbummelte Nacht a night on the tiles” and “er fand das Ei des Kolumbus he just touched the button,” are few and far between. The collaborators have, without question, taken considerable pains to provide “the most appropriate equivalent” in each instance (II, xiv). Moreover, in an effort to “serve alike those who read the classics and those who read the illustrated weeklies” (II, xiii), Wildhagen and Héraucourt dispense with the pruderies of previous centuries. Lastly, they include in their dictionary numerous terms relating to the latest technological advances, and they may well claim that the physician, the physicist, the chemist, the zoologist, the botanist, the architect, the forester, and the musician, among others, will find in it much of the terminology pertaining to their general spheres of interest.

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–J. Alan Pfeffer



**The Arrow and the Lyre. A Study of the Role of Love in the Works of Thomas Mann.**

By Frank Donald Hirschbach. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955. 195 pp. Price: Fl. 17.00.

It is a pity that the first volume of "International Scholars Forum. A Series of Books by American Scholars" should be this immature product. The author's hand is too heavy for the delicate and difficult subject. Many pages are wasted in a retelling of Mann's stories with inaccuracies, misunderstandings, and a surprising naïveté of interpretation. Sexual manifestations of love receive principal attention. Frequently we find contradictory statements: thus we are told on one page that Mann treats sex in *The Transposed Heads* "with delicateness and restraint," and on another page that in the same book he "waxes quite eloquent" and "launches into a most detailed description of the sex act." Denis de Rougemont's *Love in the Western World* receives the stamp of "profundity and scholarly method" at one point and is called "a somewhat more popularly written treatise" at another place.

The author's method cannot be called scholarly in the sense of any kind of literary scholarship. Terms like "student of human relations" or "societal factor" point to the behavioral sciences as one of the god-parents of the work, while the other may be found in a popular kind of psychoanalysis. The writing abounds in platitudes of "significance," which, however, are preferable to speculations like "if Mann had been in the German army and fought its battles, it might have been he, instead of Erich Maria Remarque, who would have written the great novel of the war." In those rare instances in which the author transcends the sphere of Thomas Mann, the reader will meet with novel insights, such as the equation of Penthesilea's love for Achilles with Anselmus' love for Serpentina under the common denominator of "limitless inebriation." A wistful question whether "the Euphorion-like son of Schridaman and Sita is "a symbol of the new humanity" might be answered by reading Mann's final paragraph in *The Transposed Heads* about this myopic "Früchtchen" and his earthly success as "Vorleser des Königs von Benares."

The University of Chicago.

—H. Stefan Schultz

**Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar.**

Von Alfred Götze. 5. Auflage. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1956. xii und 240 Seiten. Preis: geh. DM 9.80.

The fifth edition of Götze's *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar* is a precise reprint of the second edition of 1920. I have been unable to find any change. The book is designed for use with Götze's *Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch*.

University of Wisconsin.

—R-M. S. Heffner

## TEXTBOOKS RECEIVED

**SHORTER COLLEGE GERMAN.** By M. B. Evans, R. O. Röseler, and J. R. Reichard. Third Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956. 247 pages. Price: \$3.75.

Extensive revision and rearrangement in the third edition of this popular beginners' text have not altered its basic character as a thorough, conservation introduction to the language. Several reading selections have been entirely changed, others more or less extensively revised. New features include numerous explanatory footnotes to the reading selections, four systematic vocabulary reviews, brief lists of cognates after the first five lessons, lists of "additional words for conversation drill," excellent photographs, and maps on the end papers.

Occasionally the revision has led to such vague formulations as: "The accusative case is the same as English objective, with or without a preposition" (page 20), and "The dative case is the equivalent of English objective case with or without *to* or *for*" (page 25). The new reading selections overwork the stilted *jener* and often use *studieren* unidiomatically. How did a sentence such as "Dann studieren wir noch fleißig für eine oder zwei Stunden" (page 52) get past the editors? Obvious misprints are *verlesen* (page 32) and *Kaffe* (page 52). In a picture caption the Isartor in Munich is identified as the Sendlinger-Tor "near" Munich (opposite page 80). The caption opposite page 144 confuses the new town hall in Munich (built 1874-1908) with the ancient structure not visible in the picture. Heilbronn is twice misspelled in the caption opposite page 145.

The new edition is actually several pages shorter than the last. A better quality of paper and wider margins enhance the appearance of the book. Lessons I-XVII are now set in roman type. In the German alphabets, pages 1 and 164, the ligatures ß and tz are omitted.

**INTRODUCTION TO GERMAN.** By H. Steinhauer and W. Sundermeyer. Revised edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1956. 240 pages. Price: \$2.85.

This is a brief grammar emphasizing the oral approach. Operating with a severely limited vocabulary, it presents first the fundamentals of German grammar in 18 short preliminary lessons based primarily on a question-answer technique. This *Vorstufe* has been completely revised in the new edition. The model questions and answers have been increased in number and made more flexible. The individual *Aufgaben* are fewer in number but somewhat longer. Part II, a more conventional, systematic grammar (21 Aufgaben), has undergone less radical revision, but there are a number of improvements. New English-to-German exercises sensibly stress the variation of basic patterns. There is now a separate chapter on relative and possessive pronouns and a new section devoted to exercises on word order. Part III, a comprehensive reference grammar intended for later semesters, has undergone only minor changes.

The treatment of the extended adjective construction has been considerably expanded. A subheading (The Infinitive) has apparently inadvertently been omitted between sections 170 and 171.

The entire book is now printed in roman type. The revision is much more attractive typographically and in general appearance than the original edition.

**BEGINNING GERMAN.** By Otto P. Schinnerer. Revised by Barbara Schinnerer Tovey. New York: Macmillan Co., 1956. 304 pages. Price \$3.50.

The principal reading selections, grammatical explanations, and exercises have been affected only slightly by this revision, the chief purpose of which was to bring the "cultural" materials in the supplementary readings up to date. The entire text has now been set in roman type, and new and attractive photographs have been included, as well as a useful map.

Unfortunately, the new supplementary readings contain errors both of fact and usage. The Oder arises in Czechoslovakia, not in Poland (page 40). The German railroad now has only two, not three classes (page 99). The peasant women in the Black Forest wear *Trachten* rather than *Kostüme* (page 168). The author seems undecided whether to use a singular or plural verb with *Familie* (passim). *Ringsum Berlin* (page 80) should be three words. The use of *ss* and *ß* is not always correct (pages 134, 142, 201, 211). *Menuetts* (page 134) should be *Menuette*. Several dubious or incorrect cognates are used (*reflektieren*, page 151; *kommerzialisiert*, page 158; *passiert*, page 180). On page 180 the family should travel *nach*, not *in* Rothenburg. *Jeder Morgen* (page 191) should be in the accusative case. There are grammatical errors in the captions of the two pictures preceding page 81.

**KLEINSTADT IN AMERIKA.** By C. R. Goedsche, Eloise Neuse, Elizabeth H. Zorb. Cultural Graded Readers, Book V. New York: American Book Co., 1955. 64 pages. Price: 90 cents.

This fifth cultural graded reader follows the same pattern as its predecessors, introducing 349 new words, the subjunctive, participial constructions, and the anticipatory *da-*. The town in question is Watertown, Wisconsin, chosen as an outstanding example of a German-American community. Carl Schurz' participation in the growth of the town, the development of the kindergarten, and German-American traditions in general form the substance of the account. The apparatus (footnotes, exercises, and vocabulary) parallels that of the earlier readers in the series.

**CULTURAL GRADED READERS (Intermediate): VI DEUTSCHLAND: LAND UND SPRACHE. VII VERGANGENHEIT UND GEGENWART. VIII LEBEN.** By C. R. Goedsche and W. S. Seiferth. New York: American Book Co., 1956. 77, 88, 88 pages. Price: 90 cents each.

These three readers provide a fairly comprehensive survey of life in contemporary Germany, together with a number of illuminating excursions into the past. Book VI discusses the geographical situation and

its economic implications, and introduces the student to problems of language and linguistic development. Book VII analyzes the principal determining factors of German history and traces the course of events down to the post-war era. Book VIII illuminates the German national character, principally by examining the German attitude toward *Arbeit* and *Beruf*, proceeding then to a discussion of national institutions: the family, schools, church, etc. A praiseworthy effort is made throughout to compare conditions in Germany with those in this country and to account for the differences. The authors treat controversial subjects with admirable objectivity. In a work of such scope it is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion. Rather than pick minor flaws, this reviewer would like to express his gratification that material of this nature has here been made available for the first time in recent years in convenient and inexpensive form.

The booklets are well written and carefully edited; they should lend themselves to a variety of uses. In format and editorial apparatus they closely resemble the first five books of the series. Each book contains numerous illustrations and a map.

UNRUHIGE NACHT. By Albrecht Goes. Edited by Waldo C. Peebles. New York: American Book Co., 1955. 154 pages (99 pages of text).

This story, the original edition of which appeared in Germany in 1950, forcefully states the problems faced by a sensitive and humane German army chaplain during the Russian campaign of 1942. Although the situations described are not for the squeamish, the idealism and faith of the central character are such that the overall effect is one of hope for humanity, even at the dark moment of history here portrayed.

The story is for the most part carefully annotated and edited. The term *Kadavergehorsam*, page 21, might have warranted fuller explanation. The telegraphic *anfordert*, page 22, also deserves a note. "Corn" as a meaning of *Korn* is misleading to American students. On page 37 there should be no comma between *ohne* and *daß*, line 8. The only other misprint noted was *er* for *es*, page 49.

This is an appealing, well-written story, suitable for the third or fourth semester college level.

A GUIDE TO THE GERMAN VERB. By J. Alan Pfeffer. Buffalo: University of Buffalo Bookstore, 1956. 18 pages (mimeographed). 45 cents.

The Foreword states that this Guide "surveys and illustrates the principal groupings of the German verb, catalogs alphabetically (with cross-references) the 'key' forms of its 'strong' and 'irregular' types, and brings into focus the inflectional patterns of its indicative and subjunctive moods."

The guide outlines 13 ways of identifying a weak verb (some of them of dubious usefulness) and discusses the stem changes in strong verbs. Seven pages are devoted to an alphabetical index of strong and "mixed" (modals, irregular weak) verb forms. The remainder of the booklet is devoted to a description of the conjugation of weak, strong; and "mixed" verbs, in which two subjunctive tenses are unaccountably missing.

-J. D. W.



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